THE LEGAL REVOLUTION OF 1902.

BY
A LAW-ABIDING REVOLUTIONIST.

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By WILLIAM STANLEY CHILD.

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PREFACE.

"The Legal Revolution of 1902" purports to be a history of social conditions in the United States for a period of about fifteen years following the year 1897. It attempts to picture changes and reforms amounting to an industrial revolution—which I think should, and will, be made—as if the country had already passed through this period. All matters of fact recorded as having taken place before 1897, or "before the Revolution," are true; quotations from newspapers and other publications, and utterances of men, prior to that year, are also true; whatever is mentioned as occurring afterward is, of course, fiction.

Some of the characters in this narrative bear the same names as distinguished persons of to-day, but no pretense nor claim is made that they speak or represent in any manner the views or sentiments of those whose names they may happen to bear. The characters have been named to give added interest to the story, to connect it more plainly with the evident trend of social and political conditions, and to more clearly elucidate the opportunities which lie within the power of men.

The principal idea of the work is to show the people their power, wherein it lies, and the methods of exercising it to right their grievances, if they feel that such exist.

If I succeed in bringing all who read these pages to a full understanding of the power of the people, and

how to use that power, and wherein lies the basis, the very foundation, of our institutions, I shall be content, even though they do not agree with this story as to the extent of existing evils, or the measures it inaugurates to alleviate them. While endeavoring to clothe my ideas in an interesting and readable narrative, some exaggerations have been made; yet, in confidence to the reader, it must be said that, in the main, I believe in every line of the work; in the principle of every reform proposed; in every change pictured and result prophesied. Indeed, I can see no other road for a law-abiding, intelligent and prosperous people to travel, and no other possible destination to be reached, than the one herein imperfectly portrayed.

A LAW-ABIDING REVOLUTIONIST.

THE LEGAL REVOLUTION OF 1902.

CHAPTER I.

"Well, mother, I'll run down and get the mail," said John Brown to his wife, as he started for the village post-office. On arriving there he found his "grist" of daily papers that regularly visited his home, and also two letters. One was addressed "Hon. John Brown, Member of the Illinois Legislature." He looked at it and incidentally remarked to a friend with whom he was conversing: "I wonder who that is from—'Return in five days to Mark Mishler, Attorney-at-Law, Springfield, Ill.'; I guess it is not of much importance to me; I don't know any such person." And with that he put it, unopened, into his pocket, and looked at the other.

"Indeed, New York, from brother Benjamin! I haven't heard from him in a long time. Mother and I were just talking about him and wondering if he had forgotten us. She'll want to hear the news, and I had better go right back to the house," and he started, carrying the letter and papers in his hand. It was but a few minutes' walk, and he was soon home.

"See here, mother, a letter from Ben," he said, starting to tear it open.

"Is it possible!" she exclaimed, with considerable surprise; "we haven't heard from him since his wife died. He is no hand to write, and I'll warrant it is news of importance; probably sad news, or we wouldn't hear from

him now. You remember he never wrote us that Glen (his only child) was born until he was two years old. Of course he wrote during that time, but never mentioned that fact, and it was so strange, since he always writes so much about him now, when he writes at all."

By this time the letter was opened, the spectacles adjusted to his nose, and Mr. Brown began to read:

"My Dear Brother and Sister—

"You know how difficult it is for me to write, and I am sure you won't think strange because of not having heard from me before. I often think of you both, and have frequently resolved to write, but have neglected it until days, weeks and months have slipped away. I am in deep trouble now. You know that ten years ago the company set me back to flagman. The wages for such a position are very low; I have been able only to live and keep the family, and have found it impossible to lay by anything. A year ago an accident, a collision, occurred in the yards between a couple of switching freight trains. It was charged to me and I was 'laid off.' Perhaps I was to blame. I worked long hours and was very tired. I am getting old, anyway. My eyes, and faculties as well, are getting dim. Since then I have had no work, and have employed my time about the garden and with my poultry, out of which I have made a little.

"But Glen, though only sixteen, had completed school, and had also learned the glassblower's trade in the factory here, and with my pension and what little I could earn was able to support me and keep the house up in good shape, so I did not feel badly. In my old age I felt I had earned a rest, and Glen, noble boy! was satisfied, and insisted that I should have it. But now, just as he has his trade well learned, and had, as we supposed, the means of gaining a livelihood through life for himself and a way of supporting me in my old age, improved machines were introduced into many of the larger fac-

tories, that almost entirely displaced the glassblower and absolutely ruined his trade. They were not put in the factory here, but it was seen that the factory would be unable to compete with the machine-equipped factories, and that they must put them in or close up.

"After the machines began to be used it was evident that half the factories would supply the market. So the big ones all joined together into one big company, or trust, and closed up a number of the factories. The one here went into the big company, and the Board of Directors of the big concern voted it to be one of the factories that would be permanently closed. Lots of the machinery has been moved away, and there is little probability of it ever being operated again. At any rate it has now been closed for three months, and Glen has been unable to find a day's work of any kind to do, and there is little hope of any here. Glassblowers have been laid off in all the factories that are still running, and those now retained are taken from the force of older employes and there is no chance whatever for a new man now. So Glen will probably never find work again at his trade.

"And the town! You have no idea of the condition here. The glass factory was almost the sole industry. There is not another enterprise of any importance. Two thousand men, who fed ten thousand people, or the whole town, are thrown out of employment at the mandate of a trust, and the whole place is ruined. No western cyclone ever wrought worse havoc, because after one of them has passed the people can go to work and rebuild, but there is nothing here they can do to get even bread to eat.

"The very day it was known the factory would be permanently closed residence property depreciated one-half, and in fact it is scarcely worth anything now, and will not sell at any price. My place, which cost me a lifetime of toil, and for which I paid $2,500 principal and no end of interest, will not sell to-day for $500.

"But the question with the people here is, not how

much their property has depreciated in value, but how they are to get work by which to earn a living.

"Glen and I think we want to go West. We would like to go out where you are, and want to know what you think about it. Can we make a living there? We have been thinking if we could get a little patch of ground near some good-sized town we could, by gardening and poultry raising (at which I am becoming expert, by the way), get along and make a living; and Glen is a bright scholar, and I have been thinking that perhaps he could get work of some kind out there.

"I don't want to be a burden on you, but God knows I will be on the state if things continue as they are. And Glen, he deserves a better fate than the world seems to have allotted him.

"Please let me hear from you soon. With kind regards to sister Jane and yourself,

"I am, your brother,

"BENJAMIN BROWN."

Mr. Brown was visibly affected as he slowly read the letter, and tears filled the eyes of both himself and his wife by the time it was completed.

"Well, mother, what had I better write him?"

To which the good woman quickly replied: "Send for them both to come at once and make their home with us—at least for the present. You will soon go to Springfield, and will be gone all winter attending the Legislature. You expect to hire someone to attend the stock and the farm while you are away, and you always hire in the summer. Perhaps they might like farm work, and suit you better than anyone you can hire, and so stay permanently.

"The Lord has taken all our dear children away," she continued; "and if Glen is the boy his father has always

said he was perhaps he can fill their vacant places and still be with his father. Why, the very thought of it makes me already feel a keen desire to have him with us. A boy of sixteen, learning a trade, supporting his father, and a good scholar, too! He must surely have the metal in him. 'It's an ill wind that blows no good.' Possibly your brother's misfortunes may yet be the means of gladdening our lives, and his, too, in the end. Yes, indeed, write them to come at once."

Mr. Brown had been sitting in deep thought, yet intently listening to all his wife had said, and had not uttered a word while she was speaking. When she had finished he slowly said: "Mother, I am glad you feel that way. I will send for them at once;" and he immediately wrote to his brother, urging them to come as soon as possible, setting out the argument that his wife had just made to him, and stating that he enclosed a draft for fifty dollars, in case they should need it in making their journey. On finishing the epistle he again returned to the village to buy a draft and see his letter safely mailed.

Mrs. Brown was a very emotional and imaginative woman. She could hardly wait for her brother-in-law and nephew to come. She was thrown into rapture at the idea of having someone to take the place of her children. She was planning at once, appearing to take it for granted that Glen was surely coming; that he would be a son to her, always making his home with her. He was of the same blood as her own children. She was sure he was a good boy and that she would love him. Never having seen him, she went again to look at his picture, which she had. It never looked so handsome before. "He

is really a beautiful boy, too," she said to herself, with intense satisfaction.

On returning home again Mr. Brown found her conversing with Mr. Smith (a neighbor who was a frequent caller and a warm friend of the family) about her nephew, who was "coming to spend the winter," and who, she thought, "would make his future home with them. There is no one but Glen and his father, Mr. Brown's only brother, in the family, and we hope to have them make this their home hereafter," she said.

"Yes," said Mr. Brown, "I hope Benjamin and Glen will see their way clear to make their home here, and I guess they will. The fates have been against Ben all his life, poor fellow. He has indeed been unfortunate. When he was young he was full of vim and handsome as a prince. He was very proud; neat and tasty about his person; straight as an arrow, and made a striking appearance. He was fairly well educated, and a very courteous gentleman. He took to railroading, and except the two years he was in the war worked continuously at it for thirty-five years. He quit the service by discharge, and as a flagman. I do not know the particulars, but doubt not that old age and his physical infirmities were really the cause of his discharge. That he did not hold a better position was not his fault.

"You see, he began as a brakeman and rose quickly to a passenger conductor," continued Mr. Brown. "This position he resigned to go to the front to help save his country and free the slaves. Oh! but worse shackles than he helped to strike from them he has since had to wear himself! He left a hundred-dollar job for one of thirteen,

not even knowing he could get it back—if he came out of the war alive. The probabilities were he could not, at once. He served two years, came out with little injury and was able to get a position again as freight conductor, but not his old place on a passenger train, and that was what ruined him. One day something got wrong with the brake apparatus under one of the cars on his train, and at a station a brakeman was sent under to fix it, but was unable to do so, and Ben went under to assist him. While under there, at work, lying stretched out full length on the ground, on his back, the train, for some unaccountable reason and without orders, started. The brakeman had gotten partly out, and, by rapid scrambling, escaped. Ben raised his head; it was instantly caught by the brake beams, and he was fairly rolled up like a ball. He did not get under the wheels, though; the train passed over him, and he escaped with his life. The bones and cartilages in his neck and back were so injured that, when he fully recovered, his head stuck straight out from his shoulders, his neck was quite stiff and he was as much of a hunchback as I ever saw. It was sad indeed for one with such a royal carriage to be thus disfigured. The company sent trained nurses to care for him, skilled physicians to doctor him; important officials several times called on him while passing through the town, and frequently wrote, inquiring after him. He was told his position awaited him as soon as he was able to perform the work, but not to be in any hurry, as his pay would go on just the same.

"He believed the company to be the best friend he had on earth. Unquestionably he could have recovered thou-

sands of dollars in damages from it. But do you think he would do it? He scouted the idea, and would not listen to it for a minute. 'I sue the company that has befriended me and given me employment at good wages all these years?' he said. That settled it. He could not even be persuaded to require a contract for steady employment. Well, he got his old position and held it for three years—strange to say, just until an action was barred by the statute of limitation and no suit could be brought for his injuries. His case was outlawed. Then, he was informed, his physical infirmities rendered him unfit to perform the duties, and he was given a job as roustabout at the depot, at half the salary of conductor. He was finally put back to flagman; and now I will read you his letter."

Mr. Brown then read to neighbor Smith the letter he had received from his brother. After finishing it he said: "Now, Ben worked for that company all his life. He got nothing but a broken back and a living while at work, and the privilege of dying in the poorhouse after he was too old to labor any more." He wiped away a tear and continued: "This world is a little hard. Think of his boy Glen." And after a pause he added: "I don't know what is going to be the outcome of this social system of ours. I have grave forebodings of the future."

"That is a sad story indeed, and it must have been discouraging for the boy to have a machine entirely take his place, and a trust close the factory," said Mr. Smith. "Something must be done to control these trusts; and as to improved machinery, I am inclined to think we have reached a point where we can go no further. I believe

we should discourage and even prohibit its further introduction into factories. Don't you think so?" Mr. Smith continued, however, without giving Mr. Brown time to answer: "But one thing I am sure of—we ought to compel railroads to pension employes after long years of faithful service, when failing health and old age creeps upon them."

"That would only reach a part," was Mr. Brown's reply. "There are many whose lot is as hard as my brother's, who were never in the employ of a railroad, and that would only make the competition for employment on them stronger, and so enable them to reduce wages. And again, if that was the law, it is doubtful if anyone could work long enough for a company to entitle him to a pension. The companies would see to it that their employes were dismissed, for some cause or other, before they had served the statutory time."

"I never thought of that," replied Mr. Smith; 'there seems always to be some loophole to prevent the betterment of evil conditions."

"China long ago adopted your theory as to preventing the introduction of improved machinery," continued Mr. Brown. "I don't believe it is the proper solution of the question, but I confess I don't know what the remedy is. As I stated, the outcome of things looks bad. We'll see what Benjamin and his son Glen have to say about the situation when they arrive, which I hope will be in a few days. We'll hear what people down East think of things."

The conversation here turned to other subjects, and soon Mr. Smith departed for his home.

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Even before it was possible to receive an answer from New York Mrs. Brown was urging her husband to meet every mail. They had not long to wait, for a prompt reply came, stating they would start the first of the following week, which was as soon as they could arrange matters. Mrs. Brown was happy. It was evident she was going to make an idol of Glen if he was any kind of a boy at all, and that, of course, was but natural under the circumstances. But she was no happier than Glen and his father. Things were looking dubious indeed in their little city back in New York, and they had good reason to be pleased to have a welcome and a place to go to. But of the warmth of the welcome they had no idea, and Glen knew nothing of his Aunt Jane's feelings. He knew they had lost all their children, but it never occurred to him that that would make any difference in his welcome there.

They packed all of their belongings, except wearing apparel, into boxes, preparatory to being shipped when ordered; sold the cow and all the poultry; locked up the house and were on the way to Illinois in less than a week after receiving that most welcome letter.

Mr. and Mrs. Brown were both at the train to meet them on their arrival. The brothers had an affectionate meeting, the first in many years. Glen was pleased with both his uncle and aunt, neither of whom he had ever seen before. They seemel like good, pleasant people, and he was sure he would like them very much. Aunt Jane was disappointed and surprised to see her husband's brother so stooped and feeble. She expected to see him in bad physical condition, but he was much worse than

she ever supposed. With Glen she was much delighted. She could not help hugging and kissing him, much to his embarrassment, as he stepped onto the station platform.

He was indeed a handsome boy, but Aunt Jane believed him the handsomest one she had ever seen. "Why, he has the complexion of a girl; there is not one in the town so fair," she said to her husband, as soon as they were away from Glen's hearing. And that was probably true, but her husband explained to her that his fair complexion was probably due in part to his having worked in the glass factory; that the heat was so great, and the employes perspired so freely, that all of them were very white, unless naturally very dark-skinned, which Glen was not. He was naturally fair, and his work kept him so.

After hearing this Aunt Jane quickly asked: "Does it injure their health?"

"No," replied her husband, "it only keeps the tan out of their skins and leaves the natural color," and he smiled as she said:

"Don't you tell anyone else here that that is what makes him so white and pretty."

Proud woman that she was, she knew that she would create a commotion among the villagers with her handsome nephew, and she was not going to be handicapped with such a story as that, even if it was true.

"He is charming, anyway," she said, "aside from his complexion; his hair, eyes and form, his pleasing manner, his genteel and winning ways, all go to make him what he is."

She was the happiest of women and intensely proud of

her nephew. Of course he was going to be her boy and live with her. She seemed to take that as a matter of course, and whenever a neighbor would ask her how long her nephew would remain she would almost indignantly say: "Why, always; he is my boy."

The two brothers spent pleasant hours together recalling and relating reminiscences of their boyhood days, back in the old New York home. Tears came to their eyes as they again talked of their little baby sister, Jennie, who was supposed to have been kidnapped by a band of Gypsies. It killed their mother; yes, and father, too, they said. He spent a large part of his fortune hunting for her and in prosecuting several persons whom they were unable to convict, and it was the prosecutions, people generally came to believe, that prevented little Jennie's return for the reward offered, because the guilty ones feared they would be likewise treated. Poor Jennie! No one knew whether she was living or dead.

The friends and neighbors came in, one after another, to greet Mr. Brown's brother and nephew. In a few days Mr. Smith called again. They were talking about matters in general. Uncle John (as we'll now call Mr. Brown) appeared to be busy at his desk, when he suddenly exclaimed: "Well, indeed, here is a letter I received the very day I heard from you, Benjamin, and I got so interested in your letter and in writing to you and Glen to come that I put it away without reading it, and I have never even thought of it since. I guess I had better read it now." He tore it open and perused it while the rest talked on.

"It is from a man named Mark Mishler," he said after a time.

"Mishler! Mishler! Mark Mishler, did you say?" said his brother in some surprise.

"Yes. Why, do you know him? I suppose not. He lives at Springfield, Ill., and writes me concerning a resolution he will try and get through the Legislature, asking Congress to call a United States constitutional convention."

"I don't know him," was the reply, "but I did once hear of a man of that name some years ago. But there are many Benjamin Browns, and I suppose there are many Mark Mishlers in the world."

"I don't know, father; Mishler is not so common a name as Brown. What is there about this man?" asked Glen.

"O, nothing, nothing," said his father, somewhat disconcerted, and there the matter dropped.

Mr. Smith, who was considerably interested in the social and political conditions of the country, and remembering what John Brown had said, remarked: "How did you leave things down East? Times are pretty hard here and there is a great deal of unrest. In fact, there seems to be a general feeling of presentiment among the people that, as we near the close of the nineteenth century, we are approaching a crisis. I don't know as there is any reason for it, but a sort of common instinct seems to say that it is coming, and to fix the time with the dawn of the twentieth century. Does that feeling prevail in the East?"

"Yes, it is coming! It is coming," said Benjamin. "We'll have a revolution just as sure as the twentieth century dawns. We will; nothing can stop it."

"You don't think so?" replied Mr. Smith. "Are times as hard there as here?"

"As bad? Why, they are a hundred times worse. You have no idea what hard times are. There in our big cities people go hungry and actually starve to death for the want of food. Last winter (1896-97) there were, on an average, seventy families daily evicted from the tenements of New York city alone for non-payment of rent. They could get no work, and of course they could pay no rent. The suffering was so great that the judges finally had to refuse to issue writs of ejectment on stormy days because the heartless landlords would set half-fed women and children into the street without a place to lay their heads, no matter how blizzardly the weather was. You must stop and reflect to fully comprehend what it means to be turned out into the streets of a city like New York, without money and with perhaps a family of little children. It is a terrible fate indeed.

"And now, just think of it. A man who is able to own houses in New York to rent is usually rich. The bulk of the tenements there are owned by the very wealthy. The Astors own over six thousand houses in New York city. Yet these wealthy landlords, rich as they are, appear to be absolutely heartless."

"It does seem that the richer a person is the less feeling he has for suffering humanity," interposed Aunt Jane. "It made my heart ache to read, last winter, of the destitution and suffering in New York, and all over, for that matter, and then in the same papers the accounts of the Bradley Martin ball. Oh! there can be no Christianity in people who will so lavishly squander

their money before the very eyes of hungry, starving children, with corn going to waste and being burned for fuel in the West. It would harass me in my dreams to do such things."

"Yes, Aunt Jane," said Glen, "if there is not a hell, there certainly ought to be one. The creation is wofully deficient without it. I am sure."

"But there is, there is!" quickly replied Aunt Jane, amid the smiles of her husband, who said:

"Well, mother, you appear to get great satisfaction out of the fact that there is one. Now, I may not."

"Don't jest, John, about serious matters," she replied. "Speaking about the heartless rich, did you know Russell Sage had a nephew living in destitute circumstances in this state?"

"Yes," said Glen; "I have read that he called on his millionaire uncle for aid, who finally loaned him the paltry sum of fifty dollars, but took a mortgage on his little home to secure it. It has since been paid, after one member in the family committed suicide and another died in the poorhouse, if newspaper reports are true. There is quite a difference in his treatment of his relation and Uncle John's of us, isn't there, father? It takes a man with a marble heart to become a millionaire. I have seen that in the East."

"I know," said Mr. Smith, "as I before stated, that things are in bad shape; that the rich are heartless, arrogant and severe. I hear all these hints of a crisis, but I never have taken any stock in it. What makes you think there will be a revolution, Mr. Brown?" addressing himself to Benjamin.

"I think so because everybody else seems to think so. That is about all the reason I can give. What everybody expects to happen is quite likely to occur. What you have said about the current opinion here makes me firmer than ever in my conclusions. This is not only the sentiment among the common people, especially the trades unions, but among many eminent men. Rev. Dr. Warren Bishop, in a sermon to the business men of New York recently, said: 'We are on the eve of a great catastrophe, and unless the widening chasm between the rich and the poor is in some way filled or bridged we shall soon be on the threshold of a revolution.' Henry Watterson, Mr. Francis (who was in Cleveland's cabinet), William McLean, the late Benjamin Butterworth and many others openly expressed similar opinions, and where there is one who speaks them there are hundreds who silently entertain them."

"I remember seeing what McLean said quoted in a letter written by John R. Sovereign," said Uncle John. "That was quite a remarkable letter, by the way. Wait and I will get it. It so aroused my curiosity that I filed it away," and he went to his desk and soon was reading the following from a scrap-book:

"REFORM BY VIOLENCE.

"The Chief of the Knights of Labor Deprecates Appeals to Armed Revolution.

"Mr. J. R. Sovereign, general master workman of the Knights of Labor, has sent out the following letter, dated Sulphur Springs, Ark., Feb. 5, 1897:

"Private Dalzell, in a recent article in the Washington Post, writes a long tale of woe. He mentions our 2,000,000 enforced idlers, our 1,000,000 tramps, the over-

crowding of our penal institutions, the increase of landlords and tenants, the hopeless increase of debt and a long list of other lamentable conditions. Concluding, he says:

"'Civilization, as Napoleon said of armies, travels on its stomach, and it is very hungry now, for the most part. But where can it be filled? Hence all this unrest, all this wild war talk and discussion of silver and gold and tariff by people who have neither silver nor gold nor anything to pay customs. Relief shall not come in that way. It never did at this state of society. It will come in the old way, in war and insurrection.' * * *

"Private Dalzell seems to overlook the fact that, as the result of the recent election, 1,000,000 voters in this country lost faith in the ballot, that the Iron Brotherhood and the Industrial Army, both secret revolutionary societies, are now being rapidly organized in every part of the country.

"I still entertain hopes of a peaceful solution of our difficulties, and will work to that end. Private Dalzell's proposition is dangerous to the peace of the country. If he succeeds in convincing the people that the only remedy lies in war he will incite them to insurrection and revolution, for every student of economics in this country is clamoring for a readjustment of conditions. * * *

"If I were convinced that our only remedy lies in war I would urge every workman to get a gun, and get it quickly, and prepare to fight foreign institutions and customs now operating in this country. In fact, it would not necessarily indicate war or revolution if every working man in this country had a gun and knew how to use it, for every legal robber in America to-day is a moral coward, and would submit to a wholesale readjustment rather than run the risk of losing all in a general insurrection. John R. McLean made a forcible suggestion to the millionaire classes when he said he preferred to pay an income tax now to losing all in a few years hence.

"What we need is an agitation at home that will force the people to a test against our own social and economic disorders, but that it should come through insurrection, with all its revolting horrors, is a proposition repulsive to all the higher impulses of humanity.

"Insurrection, like great conflagrations, starts with a spark and is quenched only with a deluge. * * *

"Dalzell may not know what the secret revolutionary societies are doing. For his benefit I will quote the following from the prelude of a secret circular now being distributed by one of the secret revolutionary societies above mentioned:

"'Comrades: There comes a time in the affairs of men and nations when desperation compels the human mind to pause and bring to its aid that element of reason so long discarded. We have reached such a crisis in the destinies of this American republic. One hundred years of National existence has demonstrated that the political fabric of our Government contains within its warp and woof the elements of its own destruction, with the fact that the ballot has proved a most lamentable failure as a safeguard of free institutions.

"'In the closing of the nineteenth century we see a class despotism establishing itself upon the ruins of the Republic—an oligarchy is now in power, and already the hideous phantom of imperialism overshadows us, as embodied by the autocratic claims of the Federal court, and the acts of unbridled military despotism characteristic of the Federal Government of to-day.

"'What is to be done? We have appealed in vain to the ballot. Every trial of strength in the political arena has resulted in victory for the unscrupulous money power. There is nothing surprising in this. The ballot is a weapon best wielded by the hand of cunning and craft. History records no nation that freed itself by voting. No! Let us be frank. The hour has come for men to lay aside the mask and look each other in the face.

"'Fellow reformers, would you be free? Would you see the regimen of corporate power and class despotism at an end? Would you see the shackles stricken forever from the limbs of humanity, and behold emancipation—the rebirth? Do you believe that this can come through the ballot? No! You do not.

"'Have not the reformers spent their lives, their fortunes, and their energies in the cause of political reform? Have they not seen the cunning and unscrupulous always victorious, emerging from every campaign master of the spoils? Have you any hopes that this will be changed in the future? The past is one long protest against the ballot as an instrument of reformation.'

"Scarcely a day passes that I do not receive one or more appeals to join one or the other of the revolutionary orders being formed in this country, and offers of money and arms are frequently received if I will give my efforts to the cause of revolution. Thus far I have persistently declined to give aid or encouragement to such movements. But if, through the writings of such men as Private Dalzell, revolution comes, in spite of all efforts to prevent it, I will not be found among the cowards, nor on the side of the plutocratic classes. * * *

"J. R. SOVEREIGN."

"Let me see your scrap-book, please," said Glen. It was handed to him, and he settled down to read, while the others conversed.

"That letter appeared some time ago," said Benjamin, "and I'll warrant it has been read by every member of a labor union. I tell you something is going to happen. Where, or when, or what it is going to be I don't know, but I do know the power of the labor unions, and doubt not they will play an important part in the struggle. I haven't a particle of doubt but those societies which Mr. Sovereign mentions are being formed. It is this great

chasm between the rich and the poor that is causing the trouble. The laboring people are piling up wealth, and it is all being appropriated by the rich, and the poor find it harder each day to make a living. This is especially true in the factories of the East, where labor-saving machines are displacing thousands of laborers."

"Don't you think," said Mr. Smith, "that their further introduction should be prohibited?"

"The labor unions," was the reply, "do now, to some extent. The shoe manufacturers of Lynn have not dared to introduce a certain lasting machine recently invented, because the lasters' union has declared against it; and yet it is claimed that that machine will revolutionize the shoe business. You see that shows the strength of the unions, and what they can do if they get started. Oh, there are bloody times ahead for us. I believe one of your Western governors said lately: 'The high buildings and grand palaces of our big cities will be spattered with the lungs and livers of humanity before this thing is adjusted.' He was called a crank, but he was not far amiss."

"I am inclined to think," said Mr. Smith, "that you take a too serious view of matters. Your brother tells me the glass factory in your town was permanently closed by a trust. Is that possible? I never heard of such an outrage. I should think the managers of the trusts would be in danger of their lives."

"Now you are coming to it. See! it makes a revolutionist out of you to even hear of such a thing," said Benjamin; "yet you don't see revolution coming. Suppose you knew nothing but one trade, and you found the factory in which you had worked all your life permanently

closed by a trust, and it was impossible to ever again work at your trade. When you become an actor in such an affair it is worse than a picture in your imagination. If you were placed in that position you would see what is coming."

"But has it really been permanently closed by the trust?" he again asked.

"Closed! Why, certainly, and it is nothing new. Hundreds of factories have been permanently shut down by trusts, in order to decrease production, raise prices and throw thousands of laborers out of work."

"Well," said Mr. Smith, "I guess you are right, but what is it going to be, and what are they going to do?"

"O, I don't know. They will at least have revenge. It may be we'll have anarchy, and the fulfillment of the bloody scenes painted in that wonderful book, 'Caesar's Column.' Have you read it? It is fearful. Enough to curdle a man's blood."

At this point Glen, who was still looking over his uncle's scrap-book, said: "I believe Uncle John is getting to be quite a Socialist, judging from these clippings. Let me read some of them. They are mostly from the metropolitan dailies":

"WANT IN THE CITIES.

"A few days ago we quoted from an editorial in the New York Tribune to show that there never before was such great distress in the chief city in the country as at present, and that the victims were not merely laboring men, unable to find employment, but professional people and small merchants as well. The Times-Herald editorially testifies that want is as general and intense in Chicago as in New York. It says:

"'Perhaps since the great fire there has not been a keener occasion for generous giving. The country is now in the fourth year of a period of hard times. Very rich men have had their fortunes trimmed, so to speak; moderately rich men have been reduced to a sharp counting of the cost of casual luxuries. All classes have suffered in degree, but thousands and thousands of those brave folks whose only hope in life is to fight for the ship till they fall face forward fighting on the deck have been precipitated from a hard-earned and perilous independence into a black and hopeless poverty. * * * We do not share the opinion of the versifier who wrote "Organized charity, cold as ice, in the name of a hard, statistical Christ," but we submit that the present crisis, when ill-clad, half-famished shapes confront us on the streets; when the cold pinches the denizens of hovels and tenements; when the children in a thousand squalid homes cry for sustenance, when women fight for bread at the county agent's door, and able-bodied men swarm on the railroad tracks, eagerly begging fragments of coal—this crisis is not to be met with perfunctory measures.'

"In another article published in its news columns the Times-Herald declares that:

"'Chicago has 8,000 families actually starving to death.

"'It has 40,000 wives, husbands and children begging for a pittance of food to keep body and soul together—huddled into single rooms and freezing in the blizzard that visited the city yesterday.'"

The next item reads:

"DISTRESS IN GREAT CITIES.

"The public authorities and organized charities of Chicago are having more than they can do to care for the tens of thousands of destitute people in the Garden City, and the New York Tribune confesses that the want in

that town is as dire as in Chicago. 'At no moment within the memory of the present generation,' says the Tribune, 'has the number of unemployed in this city been so large as just now, and never before has the strain on public and private charity been so severe as during this winter season (1896-97). It is not merely the laboring classes—that is to say, the classes who may be regarded as within facile reach of philanthropic relief—who are the sufferers, but those who may be described as professional men, clerks, the salesmen, the architects and the literary men. Few, save the clergy and physicians, have any idea of the extent to which privation and actual want prevail among these victims of the bad times that are marking the close of the deplorable Democratic administration, and doctor and parson alike wax eloquent about the destitution of the families of those unfortunate men who, while eager for work and ready to do anything for the sake of a living, are for the first time in their lives unable to find employment of any kind.' After adverting to the sympathy extended to the unfortunate inmates of Sing Sing and other prisons, who are losing their sanity because there is no work to employ them, the Tribune adds: 'It may be questioned whether the first duty of the people of New York is not toward those of their more honest and honorable fellow-citizens whose enforced idleness, due to their inability to find any employment, is driving them, too, to the verge of insanity—an insanity caused not so much by the brooding over their own unhappy lot as by the spectacle of their wives and little ones literally starving before their eyes. It is not merely on the ground of philanthropy and charity that some means or other should be devised for their relief, but on the score of policy and economy. For the less enforced idleness there is outside the prison the fewer convicts there will be within its walls.'"

The next clipping is as follows:

"EXTRAVAGANCE NO BENEFIT.

"The crusade of Dr. Rainsford against the Bradley Martin ball and its wicked extravagance of spending from $350,000 to $500,000 on a single entertainment while thousands are on the verge of starvation has elicited many noble declarations from the warm-hearted clergymen of New York city and elsewhere; but Sam Small and other preachers, who ought to know better, have upheld the ball, on the ground that the extravagance of the rich gives employment to the poor.

"Historically, such reckless waste of the products of labor has led to corruption, ruin and revolution.

"Economically, the extravagance of the rich is the robbery of labor, which produces all that is flung away in riotous living.

"The fallacy of arguing benefit to labor from wasting its products is so elementary that any school boy of eighteen ought to be able to explain it."

Listen to this item, will you?

"Judge Baker, of the United States District Court at Indianapolis, maintained his reputation for saying strong things against capitalistic conspiracies, when in a recent case he declared from the bench that 'These fellows will go on until finally they will induce the people of this country to lynch them.'"

Here is something from London Truth:

"BRADLEY MARTIN AND THE CROFTERS.

"Apropos of the Bradley Martin ball, it may interest many to know that Bradley Martin is one of the American millionaires at whose behest the game laws are so rigorously enforced in various parts of Scotland. About the time he was making such a vulgar parade of his vast wealth in New York two poor crofters' sons were being prosecuted for snaring a few rabbits on the millionaire's shooting ground in that locality, an unpardonable offense, for which they were fined thirty shillings each."

And an American paper adds:

"This is just what one would expect from a man who took such pains to advertise himself as a vulgar and heartless snob. His influence is bad wherever he may be, and whether he is oppressing Scotch crofters or flaunting his riches in the eyes of the poverty-stricken dwellers in New York tenement houses he is doing his best to invite a social revolution."

"You see it all shows we'll have bloody times," said his father, after Glen had finished. "Since the Hazleton (Pa.) massacre there has been talk everywhere that labor should arm itself. I have it from the Chicago Tribune of Sept. 14, 1897, that J. R. Sovereign said at the St. Louis labor convention, then in session, that 'these injunctions of the Federal courts must be violated. * * * By the gods! The people will abolish your court and reorganize this government. * * * Behind the injunctions stand the rifles, the gatling guns, and all the murderers money can buy. Let us meet them with guns!' and that the following resolutions were there adopted:

"'Our capitalistic class, as is again shown in the present strike, is armed, and has not only policemen, marshals, sheriffs and deputies, but also a regular army and militia, in order to enforce government by injunction, suppressing lawful assemblage, free speech and the right to the public highway; while, on the other hand, the laboring men of the country are unarmed and defenseless, contrary to the words and spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

"'Resolved, That no nation in which the people are totally disarmed can long remain a free nation, and therefore we urge upon all liberty-loving citizens to remember and obey Article II. of the Constitution of the United States, which reads as follows: "The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."'

"And in the same issue of that paper I saw it reported that a Chicago branch of the Social Democracy had adopted the following resolutions:

" 'Resolved, That while our present industrial condition lasts we firmly believe in the biblical idea of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," and interpret it to mean, when applied to the late well-planned massacre of our brothers in Pennsylvania, that for every miner killed and wounded a millionaire should be treated in the same manner.

" 'Resolved, That we regard the deputies and the sheriff, who have been the active agents in the slaughter of Sept. 10, as mere indirect instruments of our millionaire class.

" 'Resolved, That we hold said class responsible for all such crimes, and regard the torch as the most successful weapon to wield against them.

" 'Resolved, That the first duty of the industrious citizen is to locate said millionaires, and every time a toiler is maimed or murdered in their interests, to administer to them a dose of their own medicine.' "

"But, father," replied Glen, "the charter of that camp was revoked because of these incendiary resolutions. The authors were bitterly rebuked by Mr. Debs, and, as they say, 'made to eat their words,' which they did very gracefully."

"And did that change their spirit?" queried his father, "and did Debs, Sovereign et al. eat the resolutions they themselves passed at St. Louis? There is going to be trouble. It cannot be avoided."

"Because things are wrong and will have to be righted," was the reply, "it does not necessarily mean bloodshed. Debs, Sovereign, and every other labor

leader, decry bloodshed. They may get all they want by legal means. Following the revolution of 1776 things were in a terrible state, but the people got together and changed their government, and formed a new one, the one we now have, and it has lasted for over a century. They formed this new government peaceably and by the means of a constitutional convention. Now this letter uncle has received suggests calling another. That will be the second one, if we get it, and it may be as beneficial as the first. To me there is a good deal of significance in that letter, and before you go to Springfield to attend the Legislature, uncle, I want to discuss that matter with you."

"And before you go I want to have a talk with you, too, John," said Glen's father.

He went in a couple of weeks, and during their talk, which they soon had, he said: "John, I want you to find out all you can about this man Mark Mishler, from whom you received that letter; who he is, where he came from, etc., and particularly all about his family—that is, his own family, if he has one—his wife and children."

Something seemed to weigh upon Benjamin's mind as he made this request, but under no circumstances would he say why he was so interested in this man.

CHAPTER II.

In November, 1897, when evil forebodings were everywhere hovering about, Mark Mishler, a robust, big-hearted, good-natured lawyer, sat one day in his office at Springfield, Ill. He had just been beaten in a case he had tried before the Supreme Court because the law on which he based the case was declared by the Court to be unconstitutional. He never was mad; his good soul would not let him; but if ever he was perplexed it was now. His mind reverted to the Constitution of the State. He read it over, as he had done many times before, but now he took a special interest in reviewing it. As he read and reread he said to himself: "Thank God! There is one thing bigger than a Court—that is the Constitution, and the people are above that yet. They make the Constitution itself. It ought to have more laws embodied in it, and this one should have been a part of it."

And as he thought on his mind reverted to the Constitution of the United States. He turned to it and scanned it over for the first time in many years, perhaps since he was a law student. He had little practice in the United States Courts, and had had no occasion to read it. After he had finished he leaned back in his chair in a meditative mood, saying to himself: "There is the foundation of all our institutions, State and National. That was the beginning. It was the corner-stone of the Republic, and on it all that is good in this country is based."

He thought on, and added to himself: "And all that is evil, then, must likewise find its basis there."

The very thought surprised him. In deep meditation, and with strange, unaccountable feelings, he continued until he read the article recognizing human slavery, and declaring the slave trade should not be prohibited before the year 1808. He always knew that, yet he could hardly believe his eyes. He read on till he came to the amendment freeing the slaves, adopted nearly three-quarters of a century afterward.

"Well," he gasped, almost aloud, "I knew that; I helped pass that very amendment freeing the slaves and, as we were charged at the time, 'confiscating millions of dollars' worth of property.' But lawyer as I am, with twenty-five years of practice, I never thought but Lincoln's proclamation freed the slaves."

He dropped back in his chair, lost for half an hour in silent study. As he sat, entirely consumed in his own thought, his very countenance unconsciously brightened. His heart grew light. His eyes beamed within him. He felt a sort of inspiration. A new idea, and a happy one indeed, sprang like an angel of light into his mind.

He well knew, and had studied much, of the rise and fall of the grand ancient civilizations, and with evil forebodings hovering like a dark, dreary, dangerous cloud over our land, he had often pondered long as to what would be the outcome with this one. As he went to and from his office and his home, and each day met men strong, hearty, but pale-faced, asking, not for bread, but in the name of God for work, he could not well pre-

vent the question recurring to his mind. He had often thought the last star of hope for our civilization had almost set, but as he sat there that moment, in all-absorbing thought, behind a suddenly beaming countenance, all those evil forecasts left him. Our civilization would live! The sad pictures of strikes, riots, war, famine, and pestilence, and a constantly decaying civilization, were no longer stern realities. It was like being awakened from an ugly nightmare by the sweet chipper of the birds on a bright spring morning, with the beautiful rays of the rising sun streaming through his windows.

He had seen, as by a flashlight, the people's great highway to peace, to prosperity, and to happiness. He saw wherein lay the power, the strength, of the people. The ballot was indeed all-powerful. When properly applied it was above and beyond Congress and Courts. It was the Legislature that made laws for legislatures. It was the Court of Courts, and from its decision there was no appeal. He had read again, for the first time in years, the article (No. V.) in the United States Constitution providing for its amendment, and for a Constitutional convention. Through the United States Constitutional convention the people's will was law, upon which no court could pass judgment, even if their law provided that the Court itself be abolished and the judges retired to private life without salary or with the additional penalty that they be transported. Anything the people wanted they might have. What more could they ask or hope for by resorting to riot and war? How many of the people knew this? Practically none of them.

Mark Mishler then and there declared to himself that

a United States Constitutional convention should be called. To get it required two-thirds of the State Legislatures to pass resolutions making the request. It was a mighty undertaking. But there were certain things for which a public sentiment had been worked up, measures which were demanded by the people, and which to get would require amendments to the Constitution. Mark Mishler saw that this would make his work easy. The great ball of lawful revolution could be kept rolling by willing hands, that perhaps little knew the outcome, or the benefits they were conferring on mankind. And yet, if they realized the ponderous effects, they might hesitate. He knew full well that if the plutocracy of the land—who, sowing nothing, reaped all, who lived by the sweat of other men's brows—understood it, they would fight it with all the power of wealth. He had seen their power again in the election just passed. It would not be well to let them understand the full import of this gigantic scheme of his. He was thoroughly honest, and the situation troubled him. Could he deceive even robbers? He pondered over the matter much, and as it was revolving over in his mind a hurried tread was heard on the stairs leading to his office. Ernest Youngblood, a member of the Illinois Legislature, entered the room. The time of day was passed, and a little unimportant business talked over. Finally they began talking politics.

"Don't you think," said Mr. Mishler, "that we ought to do away with the Electoral College and vote direct for President?"

"Most decidedly I do," said Mr. Youngblood. "I never realized the importance of it so much as now. Last

year we elected President McKinley by 600,000 majority, yet a change of 30,000 votes in the close states would have defeated him, and repudiation would have held sway, and anarchy reigned. Candidly, it is serious; the trend of the election of 1897 is toward the free silver heresy, and unless counteracted they will change the doubtful states and foist ruin upon this country in 1900, though of course they can never overcome the 600,000 majority. What a terrible calamity it would be to have this country ruined by such a system, especially when a majority of the people are in favor of honest government. A system that will install a minority in power is wrong and dangerous."

"Now," replied Mr. Mishler, good-naturedly, "we won't talk politics for a while. But I honestly agree with you about abolishing the College. And now, what do you think about the people electing their United States senators?"

"I don't see as that is so important," said Mr. Youngblood. "We get good senators usually. The trouble is not in the method of election but the representation accorded the Sage Brush States; yet I would not oppose it."

"And what do you think of an income tax?"

"An income tax is unconstitutional," was the quick response of the legislator; "declared so by the highest court in the land, a body of the most learned men, of the most judicial minds in all the world."

"But, suppose it was not?"

"But it is."

"What do you think of the principle?" said Mr. Mishler. "What do you think of the income tax laws of

England and other countries? Nearly every country of any importance in the world, except ours, has an income tax."

"I think it is all right, I'll confess," returned Mr. Youngblood. "The immense business interests of the country receive most of the benefits afforded by the government in maintaining armies, navies, etc., and I think it only fair that they bear their just proportion of the burden. In fact, it is getting to be here as in Europe: The poor are becoming unable, and the rich must bear more of these burdens."

"Now, again," said Mark Mishler, "you approved of Mr. Cleveland sending troops to Chicago. Do you know that if a strike stopped every factory in Chicago, and the workmen were blowing them to atoms, and if every coal mine in the state were closed, troops could not legally be sent there to quell the disturbance until the Governor of the state requested it? Why? Because it would not come under the interstate commerce law, as did the strike that stopped the mails."

"Are you sure you are right?" asked Mr. Youngblood. "That is a sad state of affairs. The powers of the President should be defined and extended to cover such cases. We are in imminent danger all the time. Our very cities are liable to be laid waste by a red-handed mob before an anarchist like Altgeld (we are at last rid of him, thank God!) or 'Potato' Pingree would afford protection to capital."

"And again," said Mr. Mishler, "you remember how powerless the United States government has found itself in protecting foreigners while traveling or sojourning

here? You remember the New Orleans difficulty, and that Rock Springs, Wyoming, affair? When we are called upon by a foreign nation to make reparation in such affairs we must go begging on our knees pleading to states to do the right thing. We have difficulty negotiating treaties on such matters with foreign countries, because they fear we cannot live up to them. In that respect they look upon us as a conglomeration of petty states. We cannot demand protection for our many subjects traveling abroad, if we cannot afford the same to foreigners here."

Mr. Youngblood, who was naturally very solicitous about the welfare of our visitors abroad, agreed that it was indeed a very dangerous state of affairs. "We should," he said, "by all means, have a stronger government. The miserable doctrine of 'State Rights', which your party has ever been inculcating into the minds of the people, nearly ruined us once, and it may again, unless these things are remedied. And they should be at once. But what are you driving at, anyway? I am not a Congressman; I am only a member of the State Legislature. If it is the enactment of laws to meet these difficulties which you have in mind they would be wholly beyond the jurisdiction of the State."

"And so they would be beyond your jurisdiction if you were a member of Congress." (Mr. Youngblood opened his eyes in surprise.) "It would require changes in the Constitution of the United States to remedy any of the evils of which I have spoken."

"Of the Constitution? And how is that to be done?" Mr. Youngblood said quickly and almost unconsciously.

"It can be done in two ways: By the proposed amendments passing Congress by a two-thirds vote, and being approved by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, or by petition of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States Congress must call a United States Constitutional Convention, which can propose amendments, which, when approved likewise by the requisite number of State Legislatures, become a part of the Constitution of the United States."

Becoming greatly interested, Mr. Youngblood eagerly responded: "We should have a convention by all means. Congress never acts; too slow; have their hands too full of other matters, anyway. A body of men selected solely with a view of carrying out these reforms would much better perform the work. We should have that convention without delay. How are these men selected to this Convention? and what pay do they draw? How is it we get this Convention? Just make that a little plainer to me, Mr. Mishler."

"The matter of pay, and methods of selecting the members, would be provided by Congress," said Mr. Mishler, readily reading his friend's mind, and congratulating himself on the great progress he was making, and the ardent supporter his scheme was bound to have, and further smiling to himself to think how little his friend knew of the magnitude and importance of the matter, and of what was weighing most on his mind. "Of course, the people would elect the members, without doubt; but Congress, in calling the Convention, would have to arrange the details of the matter. They undoubtedly would think a member of the Convention entitled to as much pay as a Congressman."

"And the importance of the subject matter," hastily broke in Mr. Youngblood, "would require due and mature deliberation. It is a great work."

"The people would no doubt select as members the men who had been instrumental in bringing about the Convention," continued the good, but, we must say, shrewd Mark Mishler. "That would simply be a matter of common courtesy and justice."

"I will do everything in my power to get the Convention," said Mr. Youngblood, "I am so thoroughly satisfied of the very great importance of it. Indeed, it means everything to the people, and especially to the better classes; that is, business men, the capitalists of the country, without whom our country would be a barren waste. Mishler, you are entirely out of your element, politically. The mind that conceived this grand idea cannot properly affiliate with the political party you do. How does it come, anyway? I can't understand it. But here I am, talking politics again. I know you are thoroughly honest and conscientious in your conviction. Now I am going to take hold of this matter and push it, as a battle was never fought before; and I want your help. I want you should help me get this started, and help me engineer it a little. I shall devote every minute of my time, during the coming session of the Legislature, toward getting that resolution through. You say we must get a resolution through? You draw it, will you? Do it right. Let us get this great work started. We must do it at once."

"That is right, and I assure you I believe you do not in the least overestimate the very great importance of

this matter," replied Mr. Mishler. "It means everything," he ventured, knowing his friend would not understand him, "to the struggling masses of this country. It means a reaffirmation of their liberties, a new Declaration of Independence." And, as he surmised, Mr. Youngblood said:

"Yes, because they can never prosper or thrive until capital and the business and financial interests of the country are safe and secure from the red-handed anarchists and the howling mob."

Mr. Mishler, making no response to this, continued: "I think you had better get to work at once. I will draft a resolution, and I think you had better have one printed for each member of the Legislature, and write to them, explaining the matter. I would also tell them that, inasmuch as it would not necessarily come before any committee to be reported, you desired it pushed through during the first days of the session, while matters were dull, and the committees are being appointed and an organization perfected. I think you can easily get it through very early. It is necessary to get it passed quickly, so as to get it before as many different State Legislatures as possible this winter. It would be well to get Governor Tanner's approval of the scheme, for the legislators will naturally all visit him as soon as they come to the Capital. And if he will give it a favorable word it will greatly help and hasten the matter. I think you should prepare a lengthy address, fully explaining the merits of the matter and making clear the dangers that surround us."

Mr. Mishler flushed, hesitated, and thought to himself, "I will surely spoil this thing. A speech such as he would make would be certain to defeat this affair."

"Well," he went on, aloud, "we'll talk this over again and arrange the details. We cannot do it all in a minute. On second thought, I think it would be well to personally interview every member, if possible, but don't let any of them know you have interviewed anyone else. If you talk with them they feel an importance that surely aids the cause, especially if you make a speech afterwards, because they think to themselves: 'I was of enough importance and influence in this body to be personally sought after to aid in carrying out this measure, but he is giving it to the other fellows in bulk.' In all probability many whom you have interviewed will, by a few remarks, further aid the matter, and it will go through with a rush. I feel sure it will."

The resolution was drafted:

"Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of Illinois hereby petitions Congress to call a United States Constitutional Convention, as provided in Article V. of the Constitution of the United States. And be it further

"Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of Illinois hereby invites the Legislatures of the other States to join in this petition."

This resolution, together with a printed statement, was prepared and sent by mail to every member of the Illinois State Legislature, of which it will be remembered John Brown was a member, and the mislaid letter, heretofore spoken of, was his copy of the resolution.

The statement called attention to only a few of the benefits to be derived from the Convention, such as had been talked over between Mr. Mishler and Mr. Youngblood. It stated the desire to get the matter through during the first days of the session, so as to give the Leg-

islatures of other States then in session time to act upon it. It also requested all the members to call at the law office of Mr. Mishler, if he visited the Capital before the opening of the session (as all usually did, to engage quarters, etc.), that the details of the matter might be explained to them. It stated, too, that if they were not impressed with the importance of the measure they would be welcome to call anyway, and "Mr. Mishler would be happy to be of service to them in making their visit to the city pleasant."

Mr. Youngblood was all enthusiasm. Mr. Mishler was one of the happiest of men. Yet he never divulged his plans nor dilated upon the powers of the Convention, nor the results he expected from it, to any one. As was expected, replies came from practically every member of the Legislature. Many highly approved and earnestly commended the matter; others said they saw no valid objection; and still others that they would consider the measure or take it under advisement. But with practical unanimity they closed with the statement that they would call when they came to engage quarters in the city, before the session began.

A few never answered. One farmer-legislator, "Uncle" Reuben Jones, as was afterwards learned, said to some of his rural constituents: "Those miserable lobbyists are after us already. They can't even wait till we get there. I'll show 'em they can't buy me, that I'm the representative of the people. Call and see 'em? I guess likely. I'll bet they would try and get me drunk or lead me astray into some house of prostitution. But they'll find I'm no greenhorn. I've represented my deestrict

on the School Board too long. I've seen too much of the wicked ways of the city to be hoodwinked by them fellers. They may catch some of the unsuspecting, some who're unacquainted with the ways of the world, but never me. I'll introduce a bill this very session, so I will, to stop this lobbying."

But Uncle Reuben went back on his word. The very first thing he did, on arriving at Springfield, was to make for Mark Mishler's office. He "was sure it was a swindle," but his curiosity prompted him thither. He went, gritting his teeth, prepared to resist all temptation, and to decline all offers of money for his vote, unless he was thoroughly convinced that the measure was "in the interest of the downtrodden and the oppressed." He was very much surprised with Mr. Mishler. But he said to himself: "These confidence fellers are all slick and pious looking. You can't be sure of men any more, even after you see them return thanks at the table, or take down the Bible for evening prayers. That is getting to be one of the dodges of these villains. Much less can you trust 'em because they've got pleasing ways and an honest countenance. The face doesn't always reflect the heart of a man in these days of tricks and tricksters."

Uncle Reuben was suspicions beyond measure. He was a legislator and must be wise. After exchanging greetings and discoursing about various matters, he became uneasy because Mr. Mishler did not broach the subject of his mission. So he, himself, spoke of having received the resolution and statement. He did not fully understand it. Mr. Mishler remarked that he thought "there were several particulars in which the Constitution should be changed."

"Do you mean," said Uncle Reuben, "that that immortal document of the immortal Jefferson, the grand Declaration of Independence, can be improved upon by those scallawags down in Congress, and that we fellers should petition them to do it? I can't understand this. I'm afraid there is some lobby business about this affair. I'm afraid there is something hidden, 'a nigger in the woodpile,' as they say. I don't want to question your motives, but I declare I'm suspicious about this matter. I'm sent here to protect the interests of my constituents, and I must do it. 'A public office is a public trust,' if my once much-admired friend Cleveland did say it, and I shall be true to that trust. Are the great financial kings," he asked, as a feeler, "back of all this?—and do they"—and growing suddenly indignant as he noticed Mr. Mishler shake his head—"do they, I say, expect to corrupt our body with their filthy lucre? I thank God I am above such things."

Mr. Mishler explained that it was not the immortal document of the immortal Jefferson that he desired to see changed, but that the Constitution of the United States was an entirely distinct and different document. And with great tact he said: "Mr. Jefferson was not in the body of men who framed the Constitution, but was a representative of the continental government in France at the time; and not only that, but he opposed many features of the Constitution, and so wrote his frineds here in America; and as soon as the Constitution was adopted he started a fight for amendments thereto, and secured ten that are now the best part of the Constitution and the best guardians of the people's liberties. Trial by jury,

free speech, free press, right of the people to bear arms, and the prohibition of excessive bail or unusual punishment are all rights secured to the people by amendments to the Constitution. They were enacted through the efforts of Jefferson by the first Congress that ever assembled."

"Well, well, I guess I spoke without fully understanding this matter," replied Uncle Reuben, quite taken back. "So it is the Constitution you want to change, just as Jefferson was trying to change it? You are just trying to complete the grand, noble work he started? I'm with you; you can count on me every time. I was always in favor of that. One of the very things I wanted to go to the Legislature for was to complete the work of the immortal Jefferson. I'll work for it; I'll lobby for it; I'll address the Assembly on every occasion offered for it."

Mr. Mishler was especially pleased to think he had found so earnest a supporter in one who had failed even to answer their communication. He made Uncle Reuben's visit very pleasant, finding him comfortable quarters in one of the best parts of the city. He did not explain matters much, as it seemed unnecessary. Uncle Reuben was as deeply and as perfectly enthusiastic as he could well be, and it was useless to talk more on the subject, except as he found it necessary to explain the fact that there was no money to assist in legitimately carrying the resolution through. After a time, when Uncle became perfectly satisfied that that was certainly true, the rural legislator became "very glad of it; glad that so worthy a work as continuing the labors of the immortal Jefferson was not weighed down with lobbyists, and did

not have to be pushed with a corruption fund contrary to the laws of the great State of Illinois. It would be a disgrace to the people, and a stigma on the name of our great and beloved leader, Jefferson."

Many members had called at Mr. Mishler's office before Uncle Reuben came, and many more came afterward, as they arrived in the city on their first visit before the session. There was no opposition on the part of anyone. There could not be. It was not necessary for Mr. Mishler to unbosom himself to a soul. He talked in a general way of the benefits of such a convention. The people should vote for President and Vice-President and United States Senators. We ought, in all justice, to have an income tax; and he had to explain time and again that it was possible; that all the United States Supreme Court did was to say an income tax law was unconstitutional; that now we proposed to make it more than law—a part of the Constitution itself; that the Court itself had mentioned the advisability of an amendment in the very decision in which it declared the law unconstitutional. To some he mentioned the difficulty of sending troops into a State except to enforce the interstate commerce law, and the difficulty of protecting foreign travelers here, but often he never suggested these thoughts. However, Mr. Youngblood never failed to state that these were the all-important matters. Mr. Mishler more often talked in a general way. He spoke of the large number of amendments proposed, recently, to the Illinois State Constitution. He called attention to the fact that, by the terms of the Constitution of two States—New York and Iowa—it had to be submitted every ten years to a vote of the

people as to whether or not a Constitutional Convention should be called to amend the Constitution of the State; that nearly every year some State in the Union was having such a convention, and yet none had ever been held for the United States; that the changed conditions called for changes, and it was only justice, after more than a century, for the peple to have an opportunity to see whether they could improve upon the document which, at one time, recognized not only slavery, but the slave trade itself.

Long before the Legislative session commenced it was evident that the resolution would easily and quickly pass. And Mr. Mishler and Mr. Youngblood began to look around for "other worlds to conquer." They commenced to lay plans to get the matter before as many of the State Legislatures as possible, but they could do little more than plan until the resolution was through their own. The Illinois Legislature met, and the resolution was at once introduced. Mr. Youngblood quite elaborately, yet cautiously, explained it, for Mr. Mishler had told him it might not be advisable to dwell on extending the power of the President in calling out troops, or talk of the certain defeat if the President was elected by direct vote, of silver and other schemes which Mr. Youngblood believed to be anarchistic. So he talked in a general way of the rights of the people after more than a century to assemble, and by their agents and representatives propose changes in the organic law of the land. Among others, Uncle Reuben made a vigorous speech—his maiden effort in the Legislature; and he did the cause no harm, even if he did it no good.

The resolution was passed by practically a unanimous vote of the House, and was quickly taken to the Senate, where it was treated likewise.

Complete reports and extended and favorable comments upon it were published in probably every paper in the Union. Mr. Mishler adroitly caused Mr. Youngblood's views of the matter and of the urgency of the Convention to be given to reporters for the Eastern press; but mustering every effort to restrain himself, never yet had he unbosomed his own mind to a newspaper correspondent, or even to his friend, who had done so much and had so enthusiastically carried the resolution through. And this political method, as he called it to himself, he hated. He would gladly have come out boldly, but it would never do, if the people were ever to be freed.

A meeting was called, requesting all those who were desirous of vigorously prosecuting the work in other State Legislatures to meet at Mr. Mishler's office, and at once form an organization, perfect plans, and raise money for the purpose. About twenty-five responded. They organized what they called "The Constitutional Reform Society." Mr. Youngblood was made president, and Mark Mishler secretary and treasurer; and the latter, in a neat little speech, told of the great interest he had felt in the work; of the benefit which in a general way he was sure would be derived from such a convention; of the great work and large amount of correspondence necessary; of the funds needed; that he was getting along in years, had quite a property, and was fairly well-to-do; that he wanted to do something for the world and for

suffering people in it, and he saw no better opportunity than by contributing funds to aid this cause.

And yet, after thus preparing the minds of those present, he nearly took their breath away by stating that he would give five hundred dollars! Uncle Reuben was dumfounded. He feared a corruption fund, and Mark Mishler had got so much his conscience was smiting him, and so he was disgorging a part to relieve it. But he said nothing. Nearly one hundred dollars more was raised.

Various ways and methods were discussed, and it was finally decided that correspondence be opened with every member of every Legislature in the United States as soon as their names could be ascertained, and that full reports of what had been done in the Illinois Legislature be sent to them. They also decided to have Mr. Mishler visit a half-dozen Legislatures in different States then in session.

That evening, during a lull in the meeting, for the first time our old friend, John Brown, quietly engaged Mr. Mishler in a conversation. He said: "You appear to be greatly interested in this matter, as shown by your work and liberal contribution. I assure you I am, too. I have said little, but I have listened to all that has been said by the different ones and by yourself, and it seems to me that no one here appears to comprehend the far-reaching effects of this convention. While you are at the head of this movement you have said nothing to even indicate that you yourself are aware of its wonderful moment. It means the upturning and remoulding of our entire system of institutions, but I assure you I welcome it. I court the change."

Mr. Mishler slowly but firmly replied: "I, too, have said little and thought much. I see you understand this, and I do. It is revolution. A legal revolution."

They exchanged credulous glances, but said no more on the subject, except that Mr. Mishler continued: "Call around; I would like to talk matters over with you."

"I will be glad to do so," said Mr. Brown. "There is another matter I want to see you about anyway."

In a few days they met again. Mr. Brown explained that it was his young nephew who first apprised him of the import of a Constitutional Convention, and he told of their talk, and gave quite a history of him.

"Indeed, is it possible? He must be a bright boy," said Mr. Mishler. To which Mr. Brown assented and heaped no end of praise upon him, and also showed his picture, which he happened to have with him.

"Those eyes! That hair! That brow! Those features! Why," said Mr. Mishler, "if my little boy had lived I believe he would have looked exactly like that. There is as much of a resemblance as I ever saw between two people, and if my boy was alive he would have been almost the same age of this young man. What is he going to do? I wonder if he would like to come and be my office boy?"

"I am sure," said Mr. Brown, with great delight, "nothing would suit him better."

"And what is his name?" continued Mr. Mishler.

"Glen," was the reply.

"That was my little boy's name, too," said Mr. Mishler, with unconcealed surprise. "What a peculiar coincidence."

"By-the-by," said Mr. Brown, "did you ever know a Benjamin Brown?"

"Yes; two of them."

"Well, the one I refer to is my brother, and has always been in New York," and he repeated what his brother had said to him.

"I was never in New York, and I guess your brother must have known some other Mark Mishler." And with that he proceeded to give his history. "I have no family. My wife and two sweet babies sleep in one coffin and one grave down in Alabama, where I lived at the time of their death. It has been a dreary life, indeed, since I lost them. They went away for a short visit and were burned to death in a railroad wreck. As I said, my little boy's name was Glen. Your nephew in my office would be a constant reminder of my loss. I never could bear it. But I'll tell you what I'll do! For his name's sake I will educate him. Send him to Valparaiso, Indiana, and I'll arrange at once to pay for a five years' course."

"You don't mean that?" said Mr. Brown.

"Indeed I do; and why shouldn't I do this? I am able to, and have no one in the world to leave my property to. I am satisfied from what you say that this is an exceedingly bright boy. To educate him confers not only a favor on him, but possibly all the world. And I am touched by the remarkable resemblance between this young man and my little boy, whose name he bears; perhaps it is all a fancy, yet it is real to me. I want to do it."

It was with great delight that Mr. Brown wrote that evening to the family at home. When Glen read the let-

ter and came to where it told of Mark Mishler's loss of his family his father exclaimed, excitedly:

"He had a boy named Glen, who would have been about your age, and they were all burned to death!"

His uncle had left the best till the last, and when he read the offer to educate Glen, his father again, in still greater excitement, said: "This man educate you, Glen?" and he muttered to himself: "This is stranger than fiction; stranger than fiction. Can it be true, or am I dreaming?"

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To return now to the work of Mr. Mishler. It is unnecessary to further chronicle what was done, except to say that fully a half-dozen States passed the resolution that winter, and the following years (1899 and 1900) saw it pass the requisite two-thirds of the State Legislatures. Nothing remained but for Congress to call the Convention.

After the petitions of the Legislatures were duly forwarded to Congress, and the matter of calling the Convention was taken up, some of the august members of that body took the position that it was still optional with Congress as to whether they make the call or not. Of course, the wisdom of these particular members did not prevail, and it was called, the most of the opposition admitting that they had not studied that special feature of the Constitution with due care. The nature of the Convention was left with Congress, and after much discussion it was decided that there should be two members from each Congressional district; that they should receive the same pay as Congressmen, and that they should be

chosen at a special election in June, 1900, and meet the first Monday in September following, at Representatives' Hall in Washington, D. C. And if their labors were not finished when the time came for convening Congress, they were to provide some other convenient and suitable place. It was also provided that they should make their own rules for governing their deliberations. All of this was very fair to the advocates of sweeping changes.

The times under the Hanna-McKinley administration continued very much depressed, and while elections were running toward the opposition, or silver party, the people, especially those who had supported the gold standard, did not have faith in silver relieving the existing condition of things. Many of the people were discouraged, and were losing faith of ever getting relief through political parties, and so the Convention came at an opportune time for them to turn to it as a means of alleviating their grievances and the troubles of the country in general.

CHAPTER III.

"An amendment to the Constitution freed the black slave, and more of them may do as much for the white slave," was a remark frequently heard during the campaign for the election of the delegates to the United States Constitutional Convention. Yet it must be said that very few people had definite ideas respecting the results or benefits to be obtained. True, all looked to it for relief, for where else could they look? They never had obtained any from Congress, no matter which party was in control. The newspapers kept up a discussion in a general way as to the benefits to be derived. Many of the populist papers talked very boldly of the sweeping reforms and radical changes which could be inaugurated if the people were alive to their interests; and it has since been learned that behind closed doors, in the secret oath-bound bodies of every labor union in the country, the convention was discussed and treated as a revolution.

Every reform that was inaugurated, and every benefit that was derived, was, long before the election of delegates, painted in glowing pictures to the members of these unions, and they were all enthusiastic and filled with hope over the prospects. Aside from the unions and the reformers of the country, few seemed to fully understand or appreciate the work which the Convention was likely to inaugurate. Those who did appreciate the

magnitude of it, however, were keenly alive and alert to see that no one but the friends of the common people were sent to the Convention; and it being a special election, with consequently a light vote, they were largely successful. A large majority were in sympathy with the masses of the people, and were desirous of doing something to undo the wrongs the people were suffering. The continued discussion of the matter before the election did, indeed, begin to awaken the people to the fact that they were more powerful than they had supposed. Some were a little dazed, on waking up to the situation, and some were making dire threats by the time election day came as to what would be done with trusts and corporations, and with aggregated wealth and plutocracy in general, that had long been the recipient of Congressional favor. But these few were the exceptions, not the rule.

The Convention met September 1st, 1900. Mark Mishler, who had been chosen a delegate, was made President, he being everywhere recognized as the foremost leader—in fact, the originator of the movement. Mr. Youngblood failed to be chosen a delegate, much to his disappointment, but he was made recording secretary at a good salary, which materially healed his wounded feelings.

With a rapidity that astounded Congressmen, the Convention proceeded to work. Within two weeks amendments providing for the election of President, Vice-President and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people were passed, almost unanimously, as were also graduated income tax and inheritance-tax amendments. These are now the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth amndments to the Constitution.

The next matter to occupy the attention of the Convention was the amendment making it easier to propose amendments to the Constitution. Finally what is now the nineteenth amendment was agreed upon, providing that "on the petition of one-tenth of the number of legal voters, that there were votes cast for President at the last previous election, it shall be the duty of Congress to submit the proposed amendments to a vote of the people, and that any amendment receiving a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast for and against, or a plain majority in every state, if not a two-thirds majority of all, shall beocme a part of the Constitution of the United States of America."

This was a shoal which many of the advocates of sweeping reforms feared. They felt sure the amendment would be approved by the required number of State Legislatures, and become a part of the Constitution if submitted, but many thought that if the real designs of the Radicals were known the Convention might never submit it.

So far nothing but conservatism had marked the deliberations of the Convention. Those whom the people had reason to expect to be the most radical had done nor said aught which would indicate that they were other than the most conservative of men. Little did the world understand the situation. Little did it know of what that Convention was destined to do before its labors ceased. Thus far not one virulent speech had been made against the money sharks of the country. Even the trusts and combines that had long been sucking the life-blood out of the people had not been attacked by a

single leader of that Convention. There was nothing to indicate it, and few realized the volcano on which the plutocracy of the world was sleeping.

The radical leaders of that Convention, in their secret caucuses and councils, were laying deep plans, but the world knew it not. Not one-half of the members were even taken into the confidence of the radical leaders, and they were taken in only by degrees, as they were, through hints given and feelers thrown out in private conversation, found to be in sympathy. Members went there expecting to hear spread-eagle orations on the woes of the down-trodden and the arrogance of the rich by many who had got to be members of the Convention; but they did not hear them; a sort of silent mystery pervaded the whole convention—a mystery that began to arouse the suspicions of the more far-seeing of the privileged class.

E. V. Debs, J. R. Sovereign, Tommy Morgan, members of that Convention, were as docile as corporation doves; they scarcely opened their mouths and never once raised their voices in defense of their hobbies. It was enough to arouse suspicion. "Something is wrong, or some of our fellows have bought 'em. Must be we have bought 'em," said Plutocracy to itself.

After these amendments had been approved numerous others, affecting different industries of the country, were offered. Some extended the power of the President to send troops into a State without the request of the Governor, or even against his protests; others gave the United States Courts concurrent jurisdiction of all trespasses against the persons or property of foreigners. The latter finally passed, and is the twentieth amendment to the Constitution.

At this stage a strange malady of excessive conservatism took possession of nearly the whole body. The members were unduly solicitous about the rights of every person, and the opinion seemed to break out generally, as by contagion, that no more amendments should be proposed for which a demand from the people had not been made, until a committee had duly and thoroughly investigated every phase of the matter. The idea of having committees to report all further amendments, after due consideration and investigation, became universal, and the surprise occasioned by its almost unanimous acceptance was only exceeded by the suddenness with which it was sprung. No one on the outside knew it then, but several years after a member who was not taken into the confidence of the leaders, in describing it, said: "A wink and a word did the business. The members of no political party were ever so completely under the domination of a party caucus as were the radical members of that Convention, and yet they had no party caucus."

It was the bond of necessity that bound them together. They were an army, commissioned by and fighting for the common people. "They were making the last stand for the liberty of the world."

The motion to provide committees to be appointed by the President of the Convention was carried. The Convention provided about twenty different committees to deal with different subjects. The President informed the body that, in deference to the importance of the matter, he ought to have a few weeks' time in which to select the men most suitable to fill the different committees.

It was now October 1st, and it was plain to be seen that the race-horse speed the Convention started with was to change to the snail's pace, but this was according to deep-laid plans of the unseen hands that were guiding affairs.

Courtesy to the presiding officer required that he be given time, especially after making the request, to properly select the committees. The election would occur in about a month, and it would be useless to meet only a week or ten days before that time, as all the members would necessarily want to be at home. A motion to adjourn until the Monday following election was, therefore, unanimously carried. This was exactly what was wanted by, and according to, the directions of the "powers that be." It gave every member an opportunity to return to his constituents and urge the election of members of the Legislature who would approve the work thus far done by the Convention. They nearly all improved the opportunity, and the result was that every one elected that fall was in sympathy with a majority of the amendments proposed. Indeed, it could not be otherwise. There had long been a demand by the people to vote for President, Vice-President and United States Senators, and the universal sentiment among the people was in favor of an income and inheritance tax. The only amendments so far proposed, which had not already had a sentiment worked up in their favor, were the ones extending the jurisdiction of the United States Courts, which was passed to bait, to please and to pacify the nabobs, and the one providing another method of amending the Constitution. But no one who believed in a republican form of government, who thought the people

capable of governing themselves, could oppose such an amendment.

The Convention reassembled, and the committees were announced. It saw the work it had done, so far as the people had had an opportunity, fully approved. Concerted action on the part of the leaders by means of personal interviews, etc., showed that enough State Legislatures which had been elected the year before, and would not meet again for one year, were in favor of the amendments to make them a part of the Constitution of the United States, if these bodies, in addition to the ones just elected, were convened in special session, and given an opportunity to pass them. As soon as the Convention assembled the cry for special sessions of the various State Legislatures was started. The United States Government would be able to collect about one hundred million dollars from the income and inheritance tax during the following year, if these two amendments were adopted, and it was plain that there was no question but that they would be. The argument that several United States Senators would be elected was also used, but the one hundred million dollars revenue the Government could collect, if immediate action was taken, was the most effective.

Yet this was far from what most concerned the radical leaders. They saw the vantage ground, however, and took it. Sentiment grew and spread in force with cyclonic rapidity over the whole country. The demand was universal and intense in favor of extra sessions of all the Legislatures that were not to convene for a year, so that the amendments could be ratified and become a part

of the United States Constitution at once. Proclamations were soon issued by no less than sixteen State Governors calling special sessions of their respective Legislatures to adopt the amendments. Some met as early as December, 1900, and from that time till January 15th, 1901. They vied with each other in being the first to get the work done. The twenty Legislatures elected that fall met between January and February 1st, 1901. All acted quickly, and in response to the popular demand, and on March 15th, 1901, the last necessary Legislature had passed the last amendment, and all were a part of the constitutional law of the land.

The people would therefore vote for their President, Vice-Preisdent and United States Senators direct. They now had an income tax and an inheritance tax, and aggregated wealth would have to bear at least a portion of the burdens of sustaining the government that protected it. The powers of United States Courts were somewhat extended and enlarged, and another method of changing the Constitution, that of placing it wholly in the hands of the people, was provided. The people could now protect and defend themselves. Now they could free themselves from thraldom. It was the greatest victory of all. It was the triumph of the quiet and mysterious Radicals. They might now openly "show their hand" and avow their policy. It was a bright day for the country, and indeed for the people of all the world, when that last amendment, on March 15th, 1901, became a part of the Constitutional law—of the law above Supreme Courts and Legislatures.

Mark Mishler was now a very happy man. All his

day-dreams would surely be realized; they would become established facts. He intended to get the Convention to do all he could; but if he failed in that he knew the people surely would complete the work, now that they possessed the power.

For the first time since he conceived the idea of the Convention, four years before, he submitted to a newspaper interview, in which, on March 17th, 1901, he said:

"The Constitutional Convention has effected a revolution, and it will be the greatest the world has ever witnessed. It differs from all others in that it is legal, but its beneficial effects are greater, by a thousand-fold, than any that has ever occurred before. The people are now all-powerful. If they have a single grievance they can right it. I have no fear but they will deal wisely with the power they now have to advance the cause of humanity.

"The strong right arm of health is wealth enough for any man, and, under just government, will not only banish poverty and want, but bring prosperity and plenty to every home. There is nothing so heartrending as a strong man willing to work and unable to find it. In the days of Moses, even in the time of Washington, if every subject in the whole land had been an abject slave they could not have supported one solitary person in the elegance and splendor in which we now support a Rothschild or a Vanderbilt. Why? Because they had not the power and ability to produce. Science, invention, improved machinery and modern appliances have since that time so increased the productive power of labor that now in many avenues a man can produce from ten to a thou-

sand times as much as in the days of Washington. We could not now support a half-dozen of our millionaires, much less all of them, with the primitive methods of production in vogue in 1776. It is by the increase in the productive power of labor only that we are able to support them. With the ability of labor to earn and produce there is now no occasion, no excuse, for poverty and want among the people. All the people want is justice. Now they can get it. And when they get it, when they get the right to keep what they earn, they will have plenty and to spare.

"Yes; there was some occasion for poverty, hunger and want in the days of Moses, and in every age since, until the present, but with the science, invention, etc., known to us in this, the year 1901, in the dawn of the twentieth century, by which man is so greatly aided in his labors to satisfy every desire, there should no longer be a solitary soul in want in this whole world. And if there is, it is because there is unjust extortion under the guise of the law. 'What the law hath given the law taketh away.' We will verify that saying. I say there should be no want. Every able-bodied man is entitled to work for a living, and the aged, the decrepit, the halt, and the blind, are entitled to a living, and a good living—not as a matter of charity, but of right. Charity! Charity! It has no place in our vocabulary. 'Why,' you ask, 'are those unable to work entitled to a living as a matter of right?' Because the people of this age are able to produce all that mind or body can crave, not with their labor alone—it is but a small item; our forefathers, long ages ago, were just as strong in body as we, but by inces-

sant toil were only able to live and subsist on nuts and roots, and wild meat, and dress themselves in skins. It is the inventions and improved methods of all these ages that have been gradually handed down from one generation to another, and added to, and again improved upon, that enables man to produce this great abundance. These things, the improvements wrought by the ages of study, are the common heritage of the common people; the strong and the weak alike are entitled to that common inheritance. 'But, you say, 'much of this improvement is by modern inventors, who are with us now, and their patents have not even expired.' True; and every person who invents a machine that will lighten the labor of man should be royally pensioned. They should be encouraged. But there is not one but owes his invention to the accruing knowledge of ages past. Who are our inventors? Are they the naked savages—the bushmen of Africa? No; they are the most intelligent in our most civilized nations. To whom do they owe their very civilization? To whom do they owe the environment that develops the brain that brought forth these inventions? Largely to generations long forgotten, long past and gone.

"This is a great age. We have suddenly leaped forward with great bounds, but we should never forget that the foundation was being laid by suffering humanity since the days of Adam. Knowledge, that came to us without study and without effort, as if by intuition, and entirely unappreciated, has cost centuries of study to the people of primeval days.

"So, I say, our institutions are so largely the common

inheritance of all the people that everyone unable to work is entitled to all the necessaries of life as a matter of right, and not for charity's sake. Labor is able to produce fabulously now, but our methods are primitive indeed compared to those the revolution will surely inaugurate. However, I don't care to expatiate on the changes that I believe it will bring about, but, I again say, this is a great revolution, and the dawn of the millennium is upon us."

No one could induce Mr. Mishler to say more than this. All endeavor to get him to say what changes he believed would be inaugurated proved fruitless. The plutocracy and their hireling press set up the cry of socialism and anarchy. They always spoke of the two as being one and the same, although there is no likeness whatever between them. They are as different as white and black, and convey exactly opposite meanings. Socialism is the perfection of law: anarchy the total lack of any law. But the people were not prejudiced by their talk. They saw that every change proposed must be in exact accordance to law, and must be approved by the people. There was no anarchy in the people governing themselves. The tide was now setting strongly against the plutocrats, who began to be looked upon as drones, and even worse—as cannibals, who feasted upon human flesh, and quenched their thirst with the blood of inoffensive people—for were they not maintaining a system that daily brought murder and starvation to thousands, and that made all mankind their slaves, that they might live in profligacy and in untold luxury?

As early as 1896 Dr. Parkhurst said in New York:

"If you do not look upon your neighbor as a brother you are, to all intents and purposes, looking upon him as an outlaw. If a lady goes to a store and buys an article that she is sure is marvelously cheap, and cannot understand how such a piece of hand-made goods can be procured at so pitiable a figure, she knows, if she knows anything about the world she lives in, and the industrial conditions that prevail, that some poor girl, in some sickly back alley, has been half-paid for her work, and she, the elegant lady going shopping in her carriage, gets the benefit of it. This city is full of this, and so is every other city. She does not kill the girl outright, but she helps to kill her by inches. And then, when she has got the first wear out of those articles that she has half-paid for, and that the sewing girl has paid the other half of by her health, perhaps, and very possibly by her virtue, she encourages herself in imagining that she is not a bloodsucker and a murderess by joining a relief or rescue society and packing off the unavailable portions of her wardrobe to be distributed among the poor servant girls in the back alley."

Five years later (1901) the day of their overthrow was at hand. The people were jubilant; even the boys in the streets were crying "We'll fix the plutocrats; wonder how they'll like work?" The people generally had just come to realize the affluence and prodigality in which these people lived; how unchristian they were, as they went in superb and elegant costumes, amid the glitter of jewels and the flash of diamonds, and pretended to worship God in gorgeously flower-bedecked churches, while little children were crying of hunger within the very

shadow of their church spires, or within the sound of the chimes of their sweet bells. They Christians! O God! Forgive the blasphemy! The people were embittered, and nothing but certain relief and forthcoming justice prevented violence and riot. The certainty of legal relief alone prevented anarchy and bloodshed.

The people were not only embittered against plutocrats, but against political leaders, who had hobnobbed with them, and had been their suppliant tools. Petitions were at once set afloat everywhere, asking for amendments to the Constitution forever prohibiting many of them from ever again holding office of any kind, and these received thousands of signatures. Of course the people did not expect these amendments, petitioned for, to be submitted. They only wanted to rebuke the old leaders and plainly show their bitterness. One petition, which was circulated, and received many signatures, even asked that Lyman Gage be hanged, and another asked that the same punishment be administered to Mark Hanna. "Hang Hanna" became a by-word with the boys on the streets. And all now began to understand that it was possible to even legally sentence a person to be hanged in this way, if the people saw fit to do so.

The people were all-powerful. They could do anything to the people, or the property of the people, anywhere within the jurisdiction of the United States, that two-thirds of all the people or a majority in every State voted should be done. They were the high court, the court of last resort; they could be judge, jury, accuser

and executioner at any time they were so disposed. Their will was law, and must be obeyed.

This new and novel method of getting laws that were mightier than the Supreme Court, and which it could not set aside nor longer declare "unconstitutional," took very favorably with the people. They saw in it a new and true bulwark of liberty, a court that would certainly restore to them their lost rights. But aside from this serious phase of the matter it was a pleasing novelty to circulate petitions asking for such law, and the circulation of them was the fad of the first two years of the twentieth century.

Notwithstanding the Constitutional Convention was in session, doing grand work, the people thought to urge matters on; to spur it to greater vigor, perhaps; to make known to it their wishes, even if they did not get the requisite number of signers for submitting their ideas to a vote. Petitions were circulated asking for everything imaginable. Some wanted the Cleveland and Carlisle "peace bonds," as they are known, repudiated. Some wanted the whole national debt likewise paid. The railorads, the mines and the oil industry were asked to be appropriated to public use for the benefit of the people. All that was practicable, and all that was ridiculous, was asked for. Petitions were circulated asking that women be prohibited from wearing bloomers and that all be compelled to wear them. These were mostly circulated by women, who asked for everything else, from being allowed to vote—which they now do—to not allowing any man to smoke, chew tobacco or spit on the sidewalk.

All understood, however, that when one-tenth of the legal voters petitioned for it and two-thirds of all or a majority in every State voted for these things, they would be laws that even the Supreme Court must obey. But none took the petitioning seriously while the Convention was in session, and, as stated, it was largely done to either amuse the people or make public sentiment, and to influence the Convention to radical and decisive action.

CHAPTER IV.

To go back to the Convention, it had, as we have seen, met the Monday after election, and the committees were announced. Of course the next thing was for them to organize and proceed with the investigation of the subject assigned to each. There was little for the Convention, as a body, to do. It must wait for the different committees to report, and every member was on one or more of them. For weeks the country hardly knew, from anything it did, that it was even nominally in existence. As before noted, it adjourned until January 10, 1901, to give the committees opportunity to do their work. The institution of them was entirely proper, but still how fortunate that it was found to be necessary. The Radicals were determined that the attention of the country should be entirely occupied with what had been done, and that the amendments already submitted be ratified before another move was made to show what else would occur. How well they succeeded has already been shown.

When January 10th arrived not one-half of the committees had completed their labors, and many had done nothing. Yet they made great claims. Half the body was a quorum, under its rules—a rule most shrewdly devised—and less than a quorum could do naught but adjourn from day to day, which was about all the business it was able to transact, until the last amendment had been

ratified by the last necessary State Legislature, when Mark Mishler's interview appeared. The Convention kept up a show of doing this, that and the other thing, and the people, who had been accustomed to the methods of Congress, were easily convinced that it was indeed a hard-working body. But when the suspense was over it quickly underwent another transformation—this time from the snail's to the race-horse pace.

Some of the committees which had long had their reports ready for submission, as the Conservatives (or "outs") had supposed, now suddenly found minority reports being brought in. No such minority reports had even been talked about, and the Convention had been commended by the plutocratic press for its conservatism and sense of duty and fairness toward all classes, especially toward "the great business interests of the country." But now up bobbed minority reports from many committees, and they were signed by so many members (the reports before made had been signed by the chairman only) that the fact was soon developed that they were not minority but majority reports. And oh! how different they were! How different the comment of the capitalistic press! The newspapers were thrown into hysterics. The outcropping of these reports simultaneously with the ratification of the before-mentioned amendments, and the interviews of Mark Mishler and others, showed plainly, they said, that there was "a conspiracy to foist Socialism upon the country by fraud and stealth." They had been tricked. Surely plutocracy, which had so long fooled the people, had been themselves fooled for once.

Now that the new method by which the Constitution could be easily amended was law, the hitherto slumbering plans of the Radicals began to look as if they would bud, blossom and bear fruit, all in a single night.

Amendments, one after another, were proposed, that sent cold chills up the back of plutocracy. Some even thought best to sojourn in foreign lands, not knowing what might happen, and not being used to such a state of affairs. The idea of the people having power to rule a country and exercising that power was a terrible thing to behold. They wanted to be as far from the scene of action as possible. They only regretted that they could not take their houses, and lands, and railroads with them. They took their bonds, but they must return to collect the interest, a proceeding which some even began to fear would not be conducive to their health and comfort. They feared United States gold bonds would not be the best of property. Why? Work! Work began to stare them in the face, and the torture the thought produced was appalling. But who can blame them for not wanting to work for a living, back in 1900? It was not then what it is now to work for a livelihood. They knew what it was then to drudge in the factory and on the farm. They had heard the cry of distress too often not to know the miseries of the workingm[illegible]. While labor produced much more then than it d[illegible]0 or 1875, it produced but a bare pittance compa[illegible] what it does now, because so much labor w[illegible]ho[illegible]gaged in non-productive industries, and not[illegible] was done systematically, and on the wholesale plan[illegible]s at present. There was no system, no concert of ac[illegible] Millions of busi-

ness men were warring against each other under the old competitive system. It was "each man for himself," and bankruptcy was getting them all very fast, statistics showing only four per cent escaped it.

Oh! That age of toil! Think how the women drudged and slaved all day beside the hot oven and over the washboard and tub. Steam bakeries and laundries, while known, could, under the old system, be utilized by but few. Already that very washboard, tub, and flat-iron are curiosities. They are actually filed away in government museums, and shortly, no doubt, will take their place beside the little scalloped stone in which the Aztec woman ground her corn—both to be looked upon by coming generations with the same curious interest as relics, the one of a semi-civilized, the other of a barbarous age. Our mothers used the tub, board, and flat-iron, but visited the museum and viewed with wonder and amazement the little scalloped stone.

The plutocrats, however, saw no change nor transformation in the lot of labor. Who could blame them for their ill-founded fears, when they thought of the jeweled hands of their fair ladies in a washtub, their rosy, dimpled cheeks careworn and haggard; the tiny feet of their lovely maidens unshod, treading the dirty alleys and streets of the big cities, or when they thought it might be their innocent babes whose hungry cries would break with discordant sounds upon the sweet chimes of the old church bells? They felt as if the sentence of death had been imposed upon them. They thought with the loss of ostentatious display and pomp must come poverty and dire distress. They did not seem to realize that pomp

was almost wholly the cause of poverty and distress; that death to one meant death to both; that they were veritable Siamese twins; that they must live together; that they were but a double-headed cancer on the body politic; that to destroy poverty pomp must die, as it existed by the unjust extortion of the earnings of the common people; and that the destruction of pomp would likewise dispel poverty from the land, as labor would then enjoy its own fruits.

They could see none of the benefits to be derived by the revolution to the common country, for it was spoken of now as a revolution by all. They never had looked to anything but their own selfish interests, and they could look at nothing else now. They saw calamity for themselves; it must be calamity to the country.

Their fears and their conduct were amusing to the Radicals, now known as Revolutionists. They pleaded and begged; they tried to buy and to bribe; they cajoled, threatened and browbeat, but only to see and receive the smiles of contempt on the faces of their tormentors, who proceeded undisturbed with the work before them.

The reports of the different committees were now received one at a time and acted upon. We will speak of the less important ones first.

Amendments providing for the election of all United States judges, marshals and clerks of the United States Courts were passed, their terms to be five years. That the people, the "common herd," could turn down the great United States Supreme Court almost caused gnashing of teeth. But the feeling against the Court was bitter, and some of the judges were fortunate to escape

without being forever disbarred from again holding the office of judge by election.

All postmasters in towns above 200 population were to be elected by the legal voters who had been patrons of the office for one year.

Many minor amendments affecting the details of the administration of the government were proposed, and submitted to be voted upon by the people. These cannot be chronicled in this short story of the revolution. Only those that materially changed and affected the policy of the Government can be mentioned.

Proportional representation in Congress was one of the first measures to pass the Convention. Before the revolution Congressmen had been chosen by districts, which were formed by the laws of the different States. The result was "gerrymanders," as they were then called. The party in power would cut the States all up in the most miserably disfigured and distorted districts imaginable. The map of any State showing Congressional districts looked like a crazy quilt. There were the monkey-wrench and the shoestring districts, called so because one looked like a monkey wrench and the other like a shoestring. It was anything to get the most Congressmen for the party in power. The result was that in many States, where there was only from ten to fifteen per cent difference in the vote of the two dominant parties, there was from seventy-five to ninety per cent difference in the number of Congressmen each party had, and the minority parties were entirely shut out.

The present and most satisfactory method was readily approved by the people. The whole number of votes

cast for Congressmen in a State, divided by the number to be elected, shows the vote necessary to elect one. Each independent candidate voted for receiving that number, or largest fraction thereof, is declared elected. The votes of all candidates on one party ticket are added together. This shows how many candidates each party has elected, and this number is declared elected from those on the party ticket having received the largest vote. A party may divide its vote among many more candidates than it can elect, but the total received by all gives its quota, and this quota is selected from the candidates receiving the greatest number of votes on the party ticket, even though some or all of the number have received less votes than candidates on other party tickets, or independent candidates running alone. The party as a whole is entitled to as many Congressmen as the total vote of the party, or of all its candidates, bears to the whole vote cast for Congressmen. This method necessitates fractional voting because there are no districts, and every Congressman is a representative of the whole State and may be voted for by every voter in the State, and all can vote for as many candidates as they may desire.

Each political party knows about how many men it can elect. They usually nominate about that number, yet they can nominate as many as they desire, and place them all on one general ticket. To illustrate, let us take Iowa. The Republicans figure they can elect seven Congressmen and they nominate that number. Every man voting that ticket can vote for all of them, but in counting the vote each one is only credited with one-seventh of a vote. Or the voter can mark off one candidate, and

his vote will count one-sixth for each one remaining; or two, and it will count one-fifth, and so on; or he can mark off six candidates, leaving only one, and his vote will count one for the man voted for.

If the Democrats think they can elect four men, they put four candidates on their ticket, and if a man votes for all his vote will count one-fourth for each; or he can increase the fraction by marking off candidates and voting for less than four; or cast a full vote for one by marking off three.

If the Populists believe they can elect two, and all votes are cast for each, each vote will count one-half for each candidate. If the Prohibitionists know their total vote will only equal the number necessary to elect one, they put only one candidate on their ticket, and each Prohibition voter thus casts one full vote, and if his candidate's vote equals the number necessary to elect he is declared chosen.

This method of electing Congressmen has worked admirably. It has enabled all minority parties to have a small representation in Congress, which is very proper and necessary, as every worthy idea and reform must have a beginning.

For instance, for a period of over fifty years before the revolution, there was a strong sentiment in favor of Prohibition all over the United States. Yet a Prohibitionist had never been elected to Congress until the present method was adopted. They cast votes enough in many States to elect a Congressman, but they were nowhere strong enough in a single district to elect. Ever since the revolution they have had members from several dif-

ferent States—in fact, from all the larger States—and they have done much good by agitating the question and showing the evils of intemperance. They have universally been honest and sincere men, and have had a wholesome influence on the morals of the country. Before their advent into Congress intoxicating liquors had always been freely sold in the basement restaurant of the Capitol building. Saloons were run there openly, and members of Congress were frequently accused of being under the influence of liquor. But when these Prohibitionists went in they raised such a hue and cry (their speeches being sent free through the Congressional Records all over the country) that it was stopped. Gambling, which also had prevailed there to some extent among the members, ceased by their fearless exposure. At first some members defied them, but the Prohibitionists attacked them by name, showing the evil condition that prevailed in and about the Capitol, and sent their speeches by the million into the States of the offending members. And as a result many a man of doubtful morals and character was driven from the halls of Congress. No matter how much in error we may believe they were on the question of Prohibition, they certainly exerted a beneficial influence on all questions and outside the pale of their party tenets they were invariably on the right side, and have won the respect of the whole country.

Organized labor, which has never had less than fifty members of Congress since the revolution, never had a single one before. And it is as utterly impossible to get the old corrupt steals through Congress now as it would be to pass them through the councils of Heaven. So

many different parties or independent organizations have a member in Congress that some are sure to expose all corruption.

Labor parties cast thousands of votes in every State in the Union before proportional representation was adopted, but in no single district could they get a majority, and as soon as they saw they could accomplish something their vote increased amazingly. Nothing makes more secure the foundation or more certain the perpetuity of our government than proportional representation. All new ideas and reforms are advanced and promoted by it. They all have to be nourished and cultivated. This method does it, and every worthy reform with a few years' agitation can get a member of Congress in some of the larger States. Once they get an advocate, then their power to present the matter to the people by the free distribution of their ideas through the Congressional Records is very great, and if it is a worthy cause it is sure to spread and grow.

And this is not all. The ability and opportunity it affords for a small number, by leaving a dominant party and going by themselves to advance a new reform, makes the leading parties very watchful and solicitous of the ideas and wishes of the people. It has caused the chief parties to take up measures that would have slumbered and been unknown for years to come.

While proportional representation in Congress was one of the lesser benefits derived from the revolution, it is nevertheless a cornerstone of the new Republic and a right the people will never part with.

With proportional representation was provided a pri-

mary election law, which allowed all the members of each party to select their party candidates for Congress and decide on the number they should put up. This was necessary to prevent rings from controlling and naming the candidates.

Another amendment among those bearing upon minor affairs, and relating to the details of the operation of our institutions, was one making contracts for the sale of real and personal property uniform throughout the United States. Still another amendment provided for the placing of marriage and divorce laws under the jurisdiction of Congress, and of course making them uniform all over the country. The measures embraced in these two amendments had previously been under the jurisdiction of the different States, and there were as many different laws as there were States. The marriage and divorce laws before the revolution were especially bad. Some States enacted lax divorce laws purposely in order to bring people to their territory, and many who were rich came and spent their money lavishly. Sioux Falls, S. D., became a divorce-seekers' resort. Millionaires and heiresses from the Eastern States, noblemen and ladies from abroad, seeking divorces, congregated there. It was a scandalous condition of affairs, and condemned by all. These different laws made men single in one State, and still married in another; marriageable in one, and bigamists in another.

The committee on telegraph business, of which Prof. Frank Parsons was chairman, handed in as its report his articles on the telegraph monopoly which had been published in the Arena during the years 1896 to 1898.

These were a complete exposition of that monopoly, and from them only one conclusion could be arrived at, namely, that the Government should own and operate the telegraph. This they recommended, and an amendment was offered to that effect, and promptly ratified by the people. It provided that the telegraph system should be run in conjunction with the postoffice, and by its employes, as far as possible.

A like report was made, and likewise approved, on the express business. It was found that a fair adjustment of the postage rates would at once turn practically all the express business into the postoffice, if the four-pound limit was abolished, and only a nominal fee charged for registering. The rates were, for instance, one cent per pound for newspapers sent by publishers, and sixteen times as much, or sixteen cents, for merchandise, and eight cents extra for registering, so a parcel of any considerable size used to be sent much cheaper by express than by post, if it was registered. These matters remedied, the postoffice was soon doing all the express business, and at a wonderful saving to the people.

Postal savings banks were established, to be operated in conjunction with the money order department of postoffices. These required practically no extra force and proved of untold benefit to the people, yet it was probably beyond the jurisdiction of the United States government, and the law providing for it would very likely have been decided unconstitutional, as would also one declaring for nearly all these other reforms mentioned, with the possible exception of the postal telegraph and proportional representation in Congress, until the Constitution itself provided for them.

An amendment for Government ownership and operation of the railway system was enacted. This provided. that Congress should enact such legislation as the details for the operation of these industries should require; that long-time two per cent bonds should be issued to the owners in payment for the actual value, and not for any watered stock, except to parties (small holders) owning stocks of these companies at the time of the enactment of the amendments, who should be paid, in such bonds, the amount they had actually invested in said stocks, less depreciation, if any.

These appeared to many at the time as great changes. But they were not. Governments had operated, and very successfully, telegraphs, postal banks and railroads in every part of the world. In fact, long before the revolution they were beginning to be considered by very many in the United States as proper functions of the National Government. But here the moneyed classes were using these agencies as an extra means of bleeding the people, and saw to it that the Government did not assume the management of them. They tried to tell the people that the Government could not run these enterprises; that it would make a herd of employes who would forever entrench a political party in power when once installed. This was their principal argument against Government control. But before the Government assumed control corporations used these very agencies to promote and try to keep a political party in power, and the people saw that they were as dangerous from that standpoint as in the hands of the Government, and on turning them over to the Government stopped that evil by an amend-

ment providing for strict civil-service reform in all the Government departments.

Governments all over the world had proved these institutions could thus be run; but why was any such proof required? What did the taking possession of the telegraphs, the express and the railroads mean? What complication could arise? The first law of Congress on the subject was that every man should continue to fill the position he then occupied, perform the duties he had been performing and draw the pay he had been drawing until further laws were enacted, and they were notified to the contrary. If anyone desired to resign he should do so to the same parties as heretofore, and his place would be filled. But if anyone deserted his post without notice he should be punished on conviction, and his back salary due from his respective company be forfeited to the Government. The laws simply required that all net earnings should be strictly accounted for by the different directory Boards and turned over to the Treasurer of the United States.

This was not upsetting matters much. If they had quit here no one would scarcely have known that the Government had taken possession of the roads and the telegraph and express lines. It simply means that the stocks of all these enterprises had been sold or transferred to the Government; and what does the transfer of railroad stocks signify? They were bought, sold, put up as collateral on every road in the United States every day in the year before the Government took control, and the employes, and managers even, may never have known it, and it surely never would affect the management of the

road until the next directors' meeting, even if it did then. Every dollar of the stock in railroads had been sold, the entire road had gone into new hands, and never a ripple made in the management, nor a half-dozen employes knew of it for weeks afterwards. This very thing had frequently happened with the small roads before the revolution.

The transfer of the stock of a road to the Government was no different than the sale of it to an individual or a stock company. It was just the same in either case.

Now, what would have happened if one company or individual had been strong enough, rich enough, to buy every line of railroad in the United States? The first thing would be to proceed to put all under one management and run them from one source. The advantages of one operating association, rather than many, were well understood long before the Government took control. On December 31, 1893, there were more than 1,800 railroad companies but only forty associations, many different companies putting their roads under one management. And again, the associations had their companies. The tendency was all toward concentration, and there is little doubt that, if the Government had not taken possession, all the roads would long before this have been under one management. They all understood the saving by concentration, but they wanted this saving to increase dividends, not to give the people a cheaper service.

Mr. C. W. Davis, an expert, as early as 1894, made a table showing the saving per year in management under Government control, if it would take possession of them. It was:

From consolidation of depots and staffs..	$20,000,000
From exclusive use of shortest routes....	25,000,000
In attorneys' fees and legal expense.....	12,000,000
Saved on free passes.....	30,000,000
From abrogation of commission evil....	20,000,000
By dispensing with high-price managers.	4,000,000
By disbanding traffic association.....	4,000,000
By dispensing with presidents, etc.....	25,000,000
By abolishing all but local office solicitors.	15,000,000
Avoiding 5-7 of all the advertising account	5,000,000
Total	$160,000,000
In 1893 the gross railway income was....	$1,370,401,489
In 1893 the operating expenses were....	827,921,299
Profits	$542,480,190
Added amount saved.....	160,000,000
	$702,480,190

Thus showing over seven hundred million dollars a year could be saved under Government ownership and management.

He also said at that time that with Government control we could go from New York to Chicago for $2.50, and to San Francisco for $10.00.

The Government simply proceeded, as a company would if it had bought the roads, to effect all this saving. Only if one company had the various lines it would have been for the sole benefit of that corporation; now the saving was for the Government, which was the people, and that saving has far exceeded any estimate or expectation.

Congress passed a law providing for a Board of Rail-

way Directors, consisting of five members, which the law itself named, to serve until further law was enacted, providing for a method for their election or appointment. The directors of all the railroad associations were to settle with this Board, and turn all their books of accounts, etc., over to them as they were notified to do so. This Board was to have the sole management of all the roads, but all its accounts, except on minor matters and details, were to be subject to the approval of Congress, to which it must report.

They assumed control of all those roads without a ripple. As when stocks were sold the employes never knew when the directors of their roads turned the books over until they afterwards read of it in the papers. Gradually changes were made to effect savings, but the actual time of taking possession of the different roads would have been unknown so far as changes were then concerned. The roads had been capitalized at about eleven billion dollars, or about $60,000 per mile, and were trying to pay dividends on that amount. Directors were selling stocks, some to small holders, many of whom were women and employes, on that basis. And that was why so many roads failed and went into the hands of receivers. They had been robbed by the original holders by the stock-watering method, and they tried to make the roads pay dividends on this stock. Experts showed the value to be about $25,000 per mile. This was ex-Governor Larrabee's estimate in his great work on railroads. The Government Board, with the approval of Congress, settled on this basis, paying a little less than five billions of dollars. This amount, however, was not paid pro

rata, but the small holders, who had paid full value for watered stocks, were compensated in full as near as the matter could be ascertained.

It is needless to say that these amendments, providing for the Government conduct of the telegraphs, the express business, and the railways, created a storm among the plutocrats and owners of these enterprises, especially when it was seen that they did not propose to pay for watered stock. But the storm thus created was calm indeed to what was to follow with the introduction of a later amendment, but which they had good reason by this time to expect would come.

The next amendment of importance, which also created a great furore, was the one on the currency question. W. J. Bryan had been elected President in the fall of 1900, with a Congress in favor of the free coinage of silver. Silver prior to 1901 had been demonetized and we had the gold standard. The new party in power had just opened the mints to silver, and an immense amount of it was offered at the mint at once; all the surplus, or about three hundred million dollars. It was at once discovered that this money could not be coined, and would never circulate among the people if coined. Silver had always largely circulated by certificates; that is, the Government would keep the coin in the Treasury, and issue certificates in lieu of it. In 1896, when there was between four and five hundred millions of coined silver dollars, only about fifty millions of the coins could be kept in circulation, the balance being left in the Treasury and certificates demanded under the law. After the mints were opened and the amount of silver in the

Treasury had been doubled, it could not be increased, but everyone took certificates. Gold also largely circulated on certificates. The people preferred it that way. There was a large loss, especially on gold, by abrasion, and those who took gold coins at their face value in small transactions, and then had to weigh them out in making large ones, found they were losers. Everyone in paying gold into the United States Treasury had to make up light weight, which frequently happened.

An amendment now passed the Convention providing that neither gold nor silver coin should circulate, except subsidiary silver, but that certificates should be issued, and all the bullion kept in store in the Treasury, and that it should only be paid out in bars on the certificates on a showing that it was needed for making foreign exchanges and settling foreign balances. And parties receiving gold or silver from foreign countries, in settling balances due this country, had, of course, to take it to the United States Treasury and get certificates, because the metal would be either in foreign coin or bars, and could not circulate in this country even before the amendment was passed. The Convention now saw that the increase in the circulating medium from free silver had a very beneficial effect, and also well understood that a very small amount of the gold and silver in the Treasury would ever be drawn out to settle foreign balances, and that the amount received at the Treasury from balances due this country would about offset one year's transactions with another, saying nothing about the new gold and silver mined in this country and presented to the Treasury for certificates.

It had long been a well-settled rule in banking that one dollar of coin would keep three of paper in circulation with perfect safety. The Government had long kept $346,000,000 of greenbacks afloat on a $100,000,000 reserve. So while the amendment provided that gold and silver should be kept in store in the Treasury, and full legal tender certificates issued to all parties presenting gold or silver bullion at the mint, it also directed the Secretary of the Treasury to issue in favor of the Government two dollars' worth of certificates for one of gold and silver presented to the Treasury, in addition to the amount issued in favor of the holder of the bullion or coin, thus making three dollars' worth of legal tender certificates to be issued for each one of metal in store, two to belong to the Government, and one to the person presenting the bullion. The Government certificates were to be paid out only as the Government made public improvements, or needed it to expend in the irrigation of Western lands, which another amendment provided should be undertaken at once, and which was destined to play a greater part in the revolution than any one, not even Mark Mishler excepted, had anticipated.

But the amendment also provided that if, at any time, the certificates outstanding because of bullion being withdrawn for foreign exchanges were found to exceed the bullion in store more than three to one no more would be issued in favor of the Government as bullion was presented, until the ratio of three to one was again reached, when the issuing of them would be again resumed. This amendment, together with all heretofore mentioned, was approved by the people. There was at

once over a billion dollars of bullion in the Treasury, a large amount of it being there already with certificates issued against it, and the Government found it had about two billion dollars of the new legal-tender certificates with which to make public improvements, and put its idle multitudes to work. It was provided, however, that not over two hundred and fifty million dollars should be expended each year, because of the fear of excessive inflation of the currency.

The certificates were always on a par with gold and silver, for either could be had for them at any time to settle all foreign balances, and that was all anyone ever wanted either metal for. This so inflated the currency that debts were again easily paid. There was a terrible howl from the bondholders, but it fell on deaf ears, and had utterly failed to longer have any influence.

CHAPTER V.

We must now for a few moments leave more important matters, and return to our young friend, Glen Brown, who was being educated by Mark Mishler. He went to Valparaiso, Indiana, a few weeks after the resolution calling for a United States Constitutional Convention passed the Illinois Legislature, and so had been there all the time while the events spoken of in the two preceding chapters were taking place, and over two years before the Convention was even called. He went there with a light heart and truly believed himself, as he was, a most fortunate person. He studied hard, made rapid progress, and was looked upon as one of the most promising boys in the college.

No one except the president of the institution had any knowledge of the peculiar circumstances under which he was receiving his education. Mr. Mishler had written him, but requested strict secrecy, as he feared it might be embarrassing to Glen to have it known, and directed the president to provide him liberally with necessary funds, and to draw on him for the amounts, only requiring that Glen be made to give a strict account of all his expenditures.

Strange to say, at first Mr. Mishler seldom wrote to Glen. But through the president of the college he knew, however, that Mr. Mishler was taking a deep interest in him, not only as to the progress he was making in

his studies, but in every way; the society he kept, the general trend of his mind, and the development of his views on economic and social questions, etc.

Nothing could have been more of a stimulant to urge him to greater endeavor, and nothing ever pleased him more than to have the college president confidentially drop a word that Mr. Mishler was well pleased.

For some time things continued in the usual routine of college life. Glen roomed at the home of James Rich, a small local capitalist in the little city. Mr. Rich had built an elegant home for that town; he had, in fact, overreached his means, and, hard times coming, found himself temporarily embarrassed; his income curtailed; the family, of which he had a charming one, consisting of a wife, a son, Harry, and a daughter, Laura, decided to take a few roomers from among the college students. Glen happened to be among that number of five—two young ladies, Blanch and Bell Bemis, and three young men, John Wise, Ralph Good, and Glen, and so Glen secured what was probably among the best quarters that could be had in the city. He roomed with Harry, who was a most exemplary young man. The whole party of students took their meals just across the street at an excellent boarding house, and altogether Glen's college life was very enjoyable.

Aunt Jane's great devotion to her nephew never waned in the least, and she frequently ran over to Valparaiso, which was but a short distance from her home, and spent the Sabbath with him. On one of these first occasions, as she entered the car, it was found to be well filled, and she took a seat beside a pretty young lady, who was occu-

pying one alone, saying, as she sat down, after passing the time of day: "I only go to Valparaiso; I am going over, as I frequently do, to visit my boy, who is attending college there."

"Perhaps," said the young lady, who was Miss Ethel Davis, and whose father had been, before his death, a wealthy business man in Rockford, Ill., "you can give me some much-desired information, then. I am going there to attend college myself, and am entirely unacquainted with the city. I have been attending a Western college, but it has been running down lately. Hard times so reduced the attendance that the Board was obliged to dismiss several of the best instructors, and so I decided to quit, although it was in the middle of the school year, and am on my way to Valparaiso. I am anxious to secure good rooms. Perhaps you can tell me where I can do so."

All this time Mrs. Brown had been intently gazing at the pretty Miss Davis, and then, proceeding to relate the circumstances of Glen's securing such excellent quarters, said: "They have a young daughter attending college, who occupies rooms alone, and since you are such a lovely creature possibly you can be accommodated at Mr. Rich's."

"You flatter me," said Miss Davis.

"No, I do not," replied Mrs. Brown; and then she indulged in a long, somewhat disconnected, but eulogistic talk about Glen, dropping several remarks that led Miss Davis to suspect he was not her own son, and that there was probably some romance connected with his life. Finally she said: "My whole life is wrapped up in him,

and you know his likes are mine, so I think you are lovely."

"But I cannot understand you. Why does your deep love for your own son make you speak so flatteringly of me? Does it make you love everybody?"

Still continuing her gazing, and seeing she must now explain herself, Mrs. Brown said: "I will say it. Do you know, from the moment I cast my eyes upon you I fancied I saw in you a resemblance to Glen; striking, I might add."

"It is, no doubt," laughingly replied Miss Davis, "a fancy of your imagination. Probably not another person in all the world could see it. But," she jokingly continued, "tastes and fancies sometimes run alike in families, and aren't you afraid you will lose your son if you take me to Mr. Rich's?"

Nonplused, Mrs. Brown could make no reply, but still insisted that Miss Davis should go with her to see if she could get rooms at Mr. Rich's.

The train soon reached the Valparaiso depot, where Mrs. Brown was met by Glen, to whom she presented Miss Davis as "a warm friend of mine."

"Yes," she rejoined, with a roguish twinkle in her eye, "we met up the road about an hour ago. But," she continued, now seriously, "I do feel your mother is a warm friend of mine already."

"Yes," said Glen, "she becomes quickly acquainted with those to whom she takes kindly," and together they all walked to the Rich mansion, Glen stating he doubted not that Miss Laura Rich would gladly accept Miss Davis as roommate.

They soon reached Mr. Rich's, where Miss Davis was introduced to the Rich family by Mrs. Brown as "an old and warm friend of mine." Her mission was made known, and she was at once installed as a member of the Rich family and roommate of Miss Laura. They soon became warm friends, and Miss Davis related her suspicions about Glen; told of the long talk with Mrs. Brown, including her declaration that she and Glen looked alike.

Laura laughed heartily, saying: "There is not a particle of resemblance." However, the next time they, with Glen and the rest of the college students who roomed at Mr. Rich's, were in the parlor together, where they all frequently congregated for little visits, and to play and sing, she said to the little crowd as they were all laughing and chatting together: "Do you know Glen's mother thinks he and Ethel look alike? That is why she took so much interest in her. I never heard of the like; introduced her as 'an old friend,' drawling out the words, when she had never seen or heard of her more than an hour before. Of course she made no mistake in considering Ethel a friend at once, if she was mistaken"—intending to say, about her and Glen looking alike. But before she could complete the sentence John Wise broke in, saying, at the same time winking at those in the room who sat where neither Glen nor Ethel could see him do so: "That's so; they do look very much alike. Well! I wonder if there is to be another exemplification of that saying, 'A husband and wife always resemble each other;'" and while Glen blushed and Ethel turned scarlet, continued: "Now I hope this affair won't make such rapid progress that it will deplete our graduat-

ing class. We would hate to lose Glen," and they all laughed and every one insisted that they really did look very much alike, much to the embarrassment of both.

At this juncture, hearing the laughter of the young people in the parlor, Mr. Rich came in; the matter was explained to him and, with great effort, putting on a sober, drawn face, he said it was really so. "They look very much alike."

This made Ethel angry, who poutingly, and with a slam of the door, left the parlor and went to her room, soon to be followed by Laura, who expressed her regret for ever mentioning the matter, saying: "I never dreamed of the affair taking such a turn." But this was no apology to Ethel, who said: "I told you not to tell, and you promised you wouldn't." The matter soon wore off, however; nothing more was said about their resemblance, and all were good friends again.

The girls gone, the subject soon turned to politics by Mr. Rich saying: "Well, Glen, your rantankerous and windy friend, 'Billy' Bryan, is still at it. It is enough to make us throw up our hands and say 'Oh Lord! Oh Lord! How much longer must we bear these burdens?' For three years he has been with us by day and by night, and there is yet no prospect of his letting up. And still people wonder why prosperity does not return. It is time we learned there can be no prosperity until capital feels secure, and it never will feel secure while such men as he, with the 'isms he advocates, are put forward by the people and there is the least prospect of their gaining control of the Government. Free speech is all right, I guess, but at this time it is an awfully damaging thing for the country."

"It is all humbug," said young John Wise; "the cloak of free speech ought not to allow such men to run rampant, when their teachings are known to be dangerous to the very existence of the Nation. They ought to be suppressed, that is right. Men who would destroy the Government, even though honest, but misguided, are little better than anarchists and traitors, and when there are such grave doubts about their honesty as there are in this case, they should be treated the same—hanged!"

Glen and Harry listened smilingly, and when he had finished Harry said: "Oh, you fellows are getting excited; neither one of you can meet Glen in an argument. I have been a 'goldbug'—that is, one of the brass variety, without any gold—but he has almost converted me, not only to free silver, but to—but to—socialism—is that what you call it, Glen?"

"Socialism! May the Lord deliver us," rejoined both the former speakers together, although neither knew what Socialism was; and then Mr. Rich continued: "As for silver, I am a bimetallist, but this thing of trying to make a dollar out of a fifty-cent piece is too ridiculous to consider."

"And I guess you haven't considered it, father," said Harry.

"Well," said Mr. Rich, "if we could maintain the parity at sixteen to one I would be for free coinage, but it can't be done when the commercial ratio is thirty-five to one. Free silver, under such conditions, would drive gold out, and it would simply mean silver monometallism."

"Seems to me I have heard that before, somewhere,"

mischievously remarked his son. "I hope you are not guilty of plagiarism, father."

They all smiled, and Glen said: "I believe he is guilty, and if a fellow is going to plagiarize he should pick out something better, then people will credit him with knowing a good thing when he sees it."

"Ah, more plagiarism, eh!" said Mr. Rich.

"Yes; but Glen knows a good thing when he sees it," retorted Harry, and they all laughed.

"Now," said Glen, after all had sobered down, "we not only can maintain the parity at sixteen to one, but it can be mathematically and logically demonstrated that it can be done by the United States alone."

"By the logic of a Bryan," said young Wise.

"No, you hold on," said Harry; "I have heard all the goldbugs say that if the parity could be maintained they would be for silver, and Glen has convinced me it can be, so I am for silver and gold at sixteen to one. Now go on, Glen, and don't you fellows interrupt, but when he is through answer him if you can."

They all then invited Glen to go on, and said they would give him careful attention, and so he proceeded:

"To begin with, I want to lay down this principle, that the coinage value and the bullion value of all metals when they are being received at the mint and coined free of charge are always the same. To simplify matters, we will say, which is not the exact truth, that there are twenty-five grains of gold in a gold dollar, and 400 grains of silver in a silver dollar. Now, if the Government will coin twenty-five grains of gold into a gold dollar, no one will take less than a gold dollar for twenty-

five grains of gold. If the Government will coin 400 grains of silver into a silver dollar no one will take less than a silver dollar for 400 grains of silver. The value of the coin and the value of the metal which make it must be the same.

"If the twenty-five-grain gold dollar and the 400-grain silver dollar are both legal tender, both are of the same value. That is true to-day; both are of the same value because both are legal tender."

"But the silver dollar is redeemable in gold," broke in John Wise; "that is why it is as good as gold."

"Hold on," said Harry; "wait till he is done."

"Never mind, Harry. That is all right. I just want to ask him one question. Where can I go to redeem a silver dollar in gold? If I have a Treasury note or a silver certificate I know where to go to redeem it. It is at the United States Treasury, or any of the subtreasuries. There I can get the coin. But I can't redeem a silver dollar there. No! nor at any other place in the world. It is not redeemable in gold, and never has been redeemable. It is legal tender. It is its own redeemer, and needs no other. Like gold, it will pay a dollar's debt.

"A gold dollar will not only pay a dollar's debt, but twenty-five grains of gold will be taken for a dollar's debt, because it is convertible into a gold dollar. So, in fact, twenty-five grains of gold will pay a dollar's debt.

"How is it with silver? A silver dollar containing 400 grains of silver will pay a dollar's debt, but the mints are closed, and 400 grains of silver will not pay a dollar's debt; it requires 800 grains to do so. So, under the law,

twenty-five grains of gold and 800 grains of silver are equal in value, and will each, in fact, pay a dollar's debt.

"Now, again, if we open the mints to silver we make, as before shown, 400 grains of silver as valuable as a silver dollar, by making them interchangeable. Then 400 grains of silver will in fact pay a dollar's debt because it will be convertible into a silver dollar, which is legal tender, and will do so.

"Therefore we find under free coinage 400 only, and not 800, grains of silver will be required to buy or obtain a silver dollar which will pay a dollar's debt. Because this is so, by what process of reasoning, I want to ask, can we conclude it will only take twelve and one-half grains of gold to buy or obtain a gold dollar which will pay a dollar's debt, when it still requires twenty-five grains to make a gold dollar? The law is not changed as to gold. It remains the same as before. It has only been changed as to silver. Twenty-five grains of gold and 400 grains of silver will, under free silver, perform exactly the same service, and must be of the same value. Sixteen times twenty-five is 400, and the parity is established at 16 to 1."

"Well," said Mr. Rich, scratching his head, "I never heard it put quite that way before."

"No," replied Harry, "there is no plagiarism about that."

"I'll confess," continued Mr. Rich, "it looks all right. As I understand you, approximately twenty-five grains of gold and 800 grains of silver will now, with the mints closed, perform the same service, have the same debt-paying power, in fact, although twenty-five grains of

gold will only make one gold dollar; and if the mints were open to silver the 800 grains would make two silver dollars, each of which would perform the same service as one silver dollar does now, and have the same debt-paying power. I see! I see!" drawling out the words in a meditative way. "So 400 grains of silver will do as much work as 800 would before the mints were open to it, and I can see no reason why that will double the working power of gold and make twelve and one-half grains perform the same service that the law still says it will take twenty-five grains to do; that is, make a gold dollar." He spoke very slow, and closed, saying: "To my mind that solves the problem, and the parity can be maintained."

"But you give up too quick," said young Wise. "Glen has apparently demonstrated a thing to be true that we know is not true. We had free coinage at fifteen to one from the foundation of the Government until about 1834, but never coined any gold. Then we changed the ratio of sixteen to one, and coined no silver. Silver left, and gold came back. These facts, the teachings of experience, cannot be overcome. We cannot maintain the parity at sixteen to one when we could not before, especially when the commercial variance is now twice what it was then. We can't legislate a value into an article. If we can, why not have free coinage of wheat, have lots of money, and all get rich?"

Wise looked proud, and Mr. Rich smilingly said: "I believe I did surrender before exhausting the magazine supplies. What have you to say to that, Glen?"

"It is all easily answered. First, values can be affected

by legislation. Breweries were made worthless in Iowa by the prohibitive law, and their values restored at once by the passage of the manufacturing bill.

"As to free coinage of wheat, we have it now, we'll say, as any man can grind his wheat into flour. Now, to-morrow suppose we close the mints. Farmer Jones goes to mill with his grist. The miller says: 'No; mint's closed. Can't grind any more flour.' 'All right,' says Jones, 'I'll run over and have Smith grind my wheat; he's got a little mill.' 'No,' replied the miller; 'I tell you wheat has been demonetized and can't be ground into flour any more. If you have Smith grind it I'll put you both in jail.' 'Well, what can I do with my wheat?' 'Don't know,' says the miller; 'if you can't sell it to some Englishman across the water you will have to make chicken feed out of it.'

"This would be legislation driving values down, but when Jones and his neighbor begin agitation for the opening of the mints, the remonetization of wheat, the cornmeal men would set up a cry against making flour out of ten-cent chicken feed."

Harry, it is needless to say, was all smiles, but nothing was said, and Glen continued:

"As to silver not being coined at our mints after 1834, when the ratio was sixteen to one, it certainly would have been strange if any had been. If we open our mints at sixteen to one, and to-morrow England or France open their mints at the ratio of fifteen to one, how much silver would come to our mints to be coined? None. If we say in opening our mints it will take 100 grains of silver to make a dollar, and France says she will make a coin of

equal debt-paying power in France out of 390 grains of silver, the United States mints would not coin any silver, because silver bullion, like all other products, will seek the best market.

"From 1834 to 1857 the mints of foreign countries were open to silver, at a better ratio for silver than ours, and during that period foreign silver coins were legal tender in the United States and circulated here to a very large extent. What did this condition of affairs amount to? It was just the same as though we had two United States mints open for the coinage of silver, only one of them was operated across the water, in Europe; one at the ratio of fifteen and a half to one, and the other at sixteen to one. Of course the latter—the one in this country—would do no business.

"In 1857 foreign silver coins were demonetized by the United States; that is, their legal-tender quality taken from them, and all were withdrawn from circulation. A panic at once followed—the natural and legitimate result of contracting the currency. The mints of foreign countries remained open after 1857, still at a better ratio than we offered, and so we were left without any silver currency to speak of.

"To refer again to our ability to maintain the parity, we have already seen that free coinage will double the labor which silver will be able to perform; enable it to do as much labor as gold (pay as much debt as gold), and therefore it will be as valuable as gold. We see this proven in our every-day life. Two articles of any kind—two wagons, two horses, or two men—must hire for the same wages, if able to perform exactly the same service,

if all we want of them is work, which is all we want money for—the work it will perform—their value will be the same, and their wages will be the same. So two pieces of money will be of the same value if they will do the same work."

"Yes," quickly and enthusiastically chimed in young John Wise, "and if you bring in fifty laborers where there has only been twenty-five, the wages of all will come down."

"And that is exactly what we desire to do," continued Glen, without a moment's hesitation. "The wages of gold are too high. It is too valuable; it costs too much of labor, and the products of labor, to get gold to work for us (pay our debts), and we desire to bring that other laborer, silver, into competition with gold; bring down gold's wages; make it less valuable, easier to get to perform the labor of debt-paying. Yes; gold and silver will then have to compete with each other. Each, under the law, will perform exactly as much work as the other, and so they must hire for the same wages (be of the same value) until all the work they can do is done. And do you know how much work there is for silver to do? Thirty billion of debts to be paid."

Glen looked pleased, Harry smiled, and young John Wise said: "Well, of course I don't claim to be posted, but I am willing to take the word and follow the leadership of McKinley, Cleveland, Reed, Allison, and such men, rather than you and Bryan. They are our foremost citizens and brainiest men, and have the interest of the country at heart."

"Yes," said Glen; "never think for yourself, but follow

someone else. I once thought Carlisle and Congressman Bynum of this State were true friends of the people, but so soon as we voted them out of office they trudged off to Wall street and started law offices, and have for clients fellows whose interests are not the interests of the great common people of this land."

"I guess you are right, Glen," said Mr. Rich; "but right or wrong, I am satisfied that your Moses (Bryan) will be the next President. In fact, the last election (1898) would indicate that no other outcome was possible. But do you think it right to inflate the currency and thus scale down debts? If you double the currency it amounts to the confiscation of one-half of all debts. Is that right?"

"Debts have been doubled," said Glen, "by demonetization of silver, and we want to get back to the starting point. But the currency can never be thus expanded by silver alone, unless more paper money is issued by the Government, based on gold and silver. I really am opposed to both gold and silver for money, and believe all the labor spent in mining them to be so used is wasted, and might much better be employed in building homes, and doing a multitude of other useful things for the people. This talk about money, of intrinsic value, is all foolishness. It is the fiat of the governments of the world that give gold and silver their value. If gold were demonetized by every nation in the world is there a sane man who doesn't know it would not possess one-tenth of its present value?

"A paper currency would cost no such amount of labor, and would be much better, because it can be made

absolutely unvarying in value, while a metallic standard is never stable. Even if I were a greedy, selfish millionaire I would be for a paper-money standard, because they don't know what minute new mines will be discovered, that will make money so plentiful as to practically confiscate all debts; but I suppose they think the prospect of rich mines being discovered is much less likely than for the people to increase the capacity of the money-printing press, and likewise effect confiscation if we had a paper-money standard. Of course, under the paper-money standard there should be a fixed amount per capita, and never vary therefrom. When it comes to a question of choosing between the gold standard and bimetallism, however, I am, of course, for the latter, because it will broaden the base of our present monetary system, and enable us to issue more redeemable paper money, such as we now have. But my first choice is an irredeemable, full legal tender, paper currency, sufficient for the people to do business with, but permanently fixed at a certain number of dollars per capita, and never allowed to vary."

"But even your free silver will scale down debts," said Mr. Rich. "Here is a poor widow, who has five or six hundred dollars loaned out, on the interest of which she is solely dependent. Do you want to confiscate her property?"

Glen laughed, and said: "Before the war they used to say 'Here is a widow who owns just three slaves, on whom she is solely dependent. Would you confiscate all her property?' We'll take care of the widows and orphans if you will give us a just Government, but we don't want to enslave all mankind (as the maintenance

of the gold standard is fast helping to do) in doing it. However, while I am strongly in favor of silver, and the issue of sufficient paper money by the Government, based on gold and silver, to supply the needs of business, I do not believe that it will cure all the ills that beset us, and while William J. Bryan is one of our grandest men, he is not my 'Moses,' as you say."

"And who is, then?" asked Mr. Rich, with some surprise.

"Mark Mishler," was the prompt reply.

This conversation, we must remember, occurred nearly two years before the Convention was even called, and long before any of its proceedings which we have been considering had taken place.

"Let me see," said Mr. Rich; "he is a fellow who is trying to get a United States Convention called. Do you think that will help matters much, and is there any show of getting it? I doubt it, yet he is persistent."

"He may not get the Convention called," replied Glen, "but I think so, and feel sure the reforms he has in view will be inaugurated in some way."

"Is there any other way than by a United States Constitutional Convention?" asked Mr. Rich.

"Yes," said Glen. "Congress can pass all the measures he advocates by a two-thirds vote, and then when they are approved by the necessary State Legislatures they are a part of the Constitution, the same as if a Convention was called."

"But Congress won't do it," said Mr. Rich; "and if it did, the State Legislatures would not approve the

amendments. Those Eastern States are pretty slow and conservative."

"That is so," said Glen; "yet if they bear down on the yoke too hard the people may fool them, on the score of the number of States. They tricked the South when the amendment freeing the slaves was ratified. We did not have enough States up North then, so we made Nevada, with people enough for one good county, and cut Virginia in two. That gave us the necessary number of States and the amendment was ratified.

"If the people of the West and South should upturn things and elect a two-thirds majority in Congress who were in favor of radical changes in the Constitution, I am sure they would find the necessary number of States to ratify their acts, even if they had to make a dozen States out of Texas. And for that matter, as soon as the work was done the new States (the pieces) could be joined back into one State again, with the approval of the people of the new States. That is a loophole which the framers of the Constitution evidently overlooked, and it may result in changes they never dreamed of.

"And did you know that the law for the issuance of greenbacks during the war, the Supreme Court decided was not warranted by the Constitution, but that the life of the Nation depended upon it, and its right to live was above even the Constitution itself? So the law was upheld and allowed to stand?"

"Is that possible?" said Mr. Rich. "Get a 'Pop' President, and with the aid of Congress he can pack the Supreme Court, which, under that precedent, will set aside the whole Constitution, from the preamble to the

last amendment, and they will very likely do it, because most 'Pops' believe their crank notions will have to be put into operation if the life of the Nation is to be saved." But we have already seen that neither of these two methods were resorted to to amend and considerably upturn the Constitution.

The conversation soon ended and all retired for the night. Such discussions were of frequent occurrence in Mr. Rich's pretty parlors. Things ran on in the usual routine, with nothing of importance occurring. Glen was often visited by his Aunt Jane, whom in Valparaiso he always called mother.

On one of these occasions, as soon as she arrived she called him aside, and in a low whisper said: "Glen, your father went to see a lawyer last week, and when he came home he had a great large envelope sealed up tightly with red sealing wax, and on it was written: 'For Mark Mishler. To be delivered on my death. Benjamin Brown.' He showed it to your Uncle John and me, and, laying it away among his effects, cautioned us over and over to be sure and see that it was delivered if anything should happen to him. He acts so queer; is so despondent. I can't understand what it means."

"Oh!" replied Glen, "he is getting old and somewhat childish. He feels keenly the fact that he is unable to himself educate me, and that I am, as he puts it, the object of Mark Mishler's charity. I expect to pay back every dollar, if I ever can earn it. He knows this; still it stings him to the heart, although he is very grateful; and no doubt the sealed envelope is but his way of making known his deep gratitude. Perhaps he is willing Mr.

Mishler the old home, but it is not worth the taxes since the trust closed the factory there."

Mrs. Brown was still much attached to her friend, Ethel Davis. She and Glen had become very warm friends, too. They took their meals at the same place and sat at the same table, and continued to all the time while in Valparaiso. The boarding place being across the street from Mr. Rich's, they frequently walked back and forth together, and were very much in each other's company. Miss Davis continued to be the roommate of Laura, and Glen of Harry Rich, and this threw the four young people much in each other's company. To literary and college entertainments Glen frequently escorted Laura, and Harry Miss Davis. All were warm friends, but in Harry's heart there began to secretly spring up more than simple friendship for Miss Davis, yet he felt his affections were not reciprocated by her, and fancied it was Glen she loved. Finally, it becoming unbearable, he said to Glen: "I am tired of hearing Miss Davis tell what a good fellow you are."

"Do you think I am a bad fellow?" asked Glen.

"No, but I don't like to hear her praise you up."

"Would you expect to hear her praise you? I see what I have long suspected. Go in and win her. She is well worthy of your love," said Glen.

"Yes, but you love her, and she returns your love, not mine," replied Harry, much depressed. While no one else thought of it, what had been said about Glen and Ethel's resemblance often recurred to Harry's mind.

"You have no reason to think she cares more for me than you," said Glen. "You know I have never acted

otherwise towards her than friendly. Of course I do love her; no one could help that, she is such a perfect lady; but it is only a deep friendship, a sort of brotherly love. I never had a sister, but I fancy it is such a love as you have for Laura. As to anything more, you know from our many talks and discussions that my mind runs entirely in other directions. And it is well for me that it does. You have means, and can support a wife in becoming style; but I—I was a skilled mechanic, and yet was unable to support myself and my old father. I am sure, no matter how much I loved any woman to-day, my judgment would keep me from trying to win her hand. If I were to graduate from here to-day, I know not to what I could turn my hand to earn a living. I had thought of a principalship in a graded school, but there is no more hope there. I just learned of one vacancy where there were over fifty applicants. It was filled at a reduced salary, and could have been lowered three times as much without materially diminishing the number who sought the position. I might travel the streets of any of our cities for months and not find a day's work. There is just one bright star of hope, Harry—the United States Constitutional Convention. Without that this life is indeed a dreary picture to men without financial means. I think things have come to a pretty pass when property rights are above personal rights; when a little property is worth more to one than a healthy body and a sound mind; but it is, to-day. Men are awfully cheap; dollars terribly dear. The competition among those who work is becoming a death struggle. There seems not to be room in this world, under our

present economic system, for the people in it. When there were limitless unoccupied fertile lands in the West to absorb the surplus population, things went on very well; but since this new world is all settled up and the advice 'Go West, young man, go West,' is no longer sound advice, but he must be told 'There is no place in the world better than where you are; settle down and be content to fight for an existence,' it makes things different.

"The great gates to the West have just been closed, but they are closed tightly, and are impassable. People are coming back now, rather than going West. The opportunities there are gone, and every community must now, for the first time in this country, prepare to furnish avocations and employment for all its increase in population, aside from its proportion of the influx from foreign lands. No greater question ever confronted a people.

"Look at the rising generation. Pass any schoolhouse in the city at noon or evening time, and children will come swarming out like bees from a hive. And such bright children, one would think they would make a rock foundation on which a nation could eternally stand. But can they? No! Without means of employment, no! Where, in their own community, can they find it? They must look there. There is no better place. The gates to the West are closed; all its golden opportunities are forever past and gone. There are no more new worlds to people. Each community must now take care of its own myriad of bright young people who are coming on. In a few short years millions of them, the flower of the land, will be grown to manhood and womanhood, and will go out into life's arena and enter into competition

with people now here. Do you know where they will find employment? Do you know of any place their labor is needed? Do we need more clerks, more merchants, more factory employes, or more farmers? Every line is overstocked.

"With this condition of things, the thought that most concerns me is, how am I alone to get a living in the future? No, Harry, my thoughts have never diverted to love; but you have means; you can venture."

"You look at things too gloomily," returned Harry. "You are a pessimist. Of course, when shipwrecked on a barren rock, one can't be an optimist. But you are not thus shipwrecked. You must remember there is always room at the top; for the fellow who stands at the head of his class. You are there now; you have only to hold your position, and you will win."

"Yes, I admit some win; the fellows who stand at the head; but it is poor consolation for those who stand all the way from the foot next to the head. They have rights that should be respected. Even the one who stands at the foot of the class, put there by faculties God gave him or environment with which society has surrounded him; yes, even he has rights. It is a poor lottery, one society cannot afford to patronize, that only enables the head of the class to win. Even the winner, if he has a heart within him, doesn't want such a system. With a continuance of this industrial system, with wealth absorbing the products of the labor of the common people, I can see no hope for mankind. It must be changed and a new system inaugurated, that will enable all to work who wish to and to get what they produce. The

eight thousand millionaires we have are a curse to the country. They are absorbing the products of labor, and by methods that are little above the highwayman."

Young John Wise happened to stray into the room just at this moment, and, hearing the closing sentences, said: "I wish we had more of them. If one would come and settle right here in this town it would be a good thing for it. It would put some money in circulation."

"No doubt," replied Glen, "for the town, if he would bring his money with him, that he had robbed other communities of, but if this town should proceed to make a millionaire it would be a very expensive luxury, and it would make slaves of most of the inhabitants of it.

"I can tell you of a way to make one. Give one man a fifty-year franchise of the streets here, to run street cars, electric lights, and waterworks, at his own figure, and let him water the stock at his leisure and pass it off onto the people at par. Wouldn't that be nice? He could employ labor, you know; any number of domestic servants, and his children after him could do so. Perhaps your children, when you are dead and gone, could get employment as their valets, coachmen, or cooks!

"You're a philosopher," continued Glen, as young Wise sat listening with a half-sneer on his face. Yet he was a very poor listener. Like many people under such circumstances, his little mind was trying to conjure up a poor reply, but he had none.

"You sneer. The trouble with you is you have no conception of what wealth is. I was raised in a State where millionaires live, and know what immense wealth means;" and, growing hotter, as young Wise kept on

with his half-smile and half-sneer, said: "You speak for and defend the rich, and imagine you are rich. It is ridiculous and disgusting. You haven't as good a position, and never will have, and can never move in as good society as any of the Vanderbilt or Astor servants. You rich! Not even in mind. You're a misnomer. Your name, instead of being Wise, should be Muttonhead. Your father is worth ten thousand. What a princely sum! Almost as much as the cooks of many of our multi-millionaires receive for a year's salary! And one of them wouldn't shake hands with you. If you rang their master's doorbell you no doubt would be arrested. You defend the millionaires! When you entered this college young William K. Vanderbilt entered Harvard. The papers made a great splurge over him, with his many homes and retinue of servants—a valet, a page, butler, coachman, footman, a stable groom, a lodge porter, etc. His divorced mother, Mrs. Belmont, it is said, pays his bills, but he is allowed $15,000 per year for pin money."

"Well," said young Wise, "it is theirs, and if they earn it, I say let them have it and enjoy it."

"You no doubt think you will draw a prize," replied Glen, "and become a millionaire. You have got a thousand better chances of dying in the poorhouse. They earn it!" and becoming more indignant than before, continued: "You ought to know they never earn it. Mr. Rockefeller, it is said, has an income of eight million a year. Does he earn it? The people earn it for him. They produced his great wealth, as they have produced the wealth of all the eight thousand millionaires in this country.

"Do you believe speculation on the Board of Trade is legitimate, and money there earned is wealth produced?" asked Glen.

"No, it is gambling, of course; it should be stopped, and the winnings restored to the people," was the short and blunt reply of young Wise, who was a church member and an earnest worker in the Y. M. C. A.

"I think you are right. Governor Tanner says 'The Chicago Board of Trade is the greatest gambling den on earth, Monte Carlo not excepted.' But don't you know there is not one particle of difference between it and all stock exchanges, and don't you further know that a very large portion of the wealth of a majority of the millionaires has been made on these very stock exchanges, and in manipulating the price of stocks, and if their winnings there were taken from them few millionaires would be left?

"The laws of many States give no title to property won on bets or in gambling games, and it can be recovered at law by the loser.

"The winnings of the stock exchange are no better. It is not only a gambling game, but one of the worst kind; it is played with stacked cards and loaded dice. If such tricks were resorted to in dens that bear their right names, the player would not only lose his winnings, but his life, for in such places the motto 'There is honor among thieves' goes. Not so on the stock exchange.

"How do they manipulate the stock market? In a hundred ways. For instance, they get control of two parallel railroads; then they divert the bulk of the business to one, increase the dividends, and sell stock; drive

down dividends in the other, and buy stock; then reverse the operation; divert the business back to the road they have bought stock in, at a low price, and away from the one they have sold it in. In such an operation there is no end of profits. Millionaires have been made in that way.

"Another way, outside of the stock market, is to get the people to subscribe to build a road. The directors let the contract for construction, at an outrageously high price, to a company composed of themselves. A first mortgage is put on the road to pay the bill. It is foreclosed. They bid in the road and freeze out the little original stockholders; in other words, confiscate their property. This has been done, and millionaires made.

"I can see no way how a man can legitimately earn a million dollars unless it be by appropriating God-given gifts to the people, in the way of gold, silver, iron, and coal mines, oil wells, etc. The law now says that way is legitimate, but I don't believe it.

"If you think the millionaires earn the immense incomes they enjoy just let your imagination pen them, and all their property, up by themselves, away from all the people who labor, and see what becomes of them. Build a high wall, so there can be no intercourse over it. Put the people who now depend on their work and labor on one side, by themselves, and all the millionaires on the other side, and you will find they would have to 'root' and rustle for enough to eat.

"What would become of the people on the other side of the wall, without capital, you ask? By following the divine precept, 'Do unto others as you would have them

do unto you,' by establishing the co-operative brotherhood, they never would miss capital. Capital is but the product of labor. The Labor Exchange (in many works fully elaborated upon) would answer all the purposes of capital and money, and if they, on one side of the wall, did not give away the bounties of nature in the way of the mines, the forests, etc.; if they enacted just laws, they never would have a millionaire.

"If they would take their belongings and go away and leave us, we would get along all right, but they insist on staying and transacting all the business by great trusts and corporations. The small capitalist is utterly unable to establish himself and compete. We must all become their hirelings; there is no escape. They have absorbed the factory. The department store is very fast absorbing the little retailer, and they will all soon be bankrupts. They will wither like green leaves after a killing frost. Many of them do not see their fate yet. But, mark you! when it comes these very men, now the most conservative of all, will be the most dangerous foes the present competitive system has.

"When they have absorbed the retail business, as they have all others, these gigantic corporations will grab for the farm. Marshall Field and many others have already begun, and as sure as fate the farmer himself will yet be driven from business and crowded to the wall by these combines. They will get cheap irrigated lands in the West, and freight rates by virtue of which the farmer cannot compete."

John Wise said nothing, but slipped out of the room, when Harry asked: "Can't you see any good to come

out of this industrial, competitive system you complain of?"

"Yes," replied Glen; "the same good that I can see in the business of the old slave traders. If it had not been for them the whole negro race might yet be roaming naked in the wilds of Africa, but the good they did was not intended. Great aggregations of wealth have effected changes in business methods that save labor and increase production that may ultimately be a like kindness, but equally an harsh measure. They intended no good, and probably are entitled to no more credit than the slave trader, even though their work may result in good."

Glen was still at the college when the United States Constitutional Convention met and was proceeding with the work we have already seen that it performed. He was full of glee, and often said to Harry: "My star of hope is rising. But they must do more yet."

"What more would you have the Convention do, Glen?" Harry asked, on one occasion.

"The Government must take possession of the great fortunes of the millionaires above a certain amount, and conduct the business they represent in the interest of the people," was Glen's prompt reply.

"Why, you don't mean that? You advocate confiscation?" asked Harry, with much surprise.

"Call it what you like, but I supposed confiscation was taking from one without compensation that which he had really earned and produced. Now you say, yourself, the millionaires never produced nor earned what they have got possession of. Would taking that which the people have themselves produced, for the benefit of the

people, be confiscation? I know how I contributed to make the factories of the glass trust, when I worked for it, and every time since when I have bought from it, and by just such forced contributions from the people every trust factory in the whole land has been built that is now held possession of by a millionaire. If taking these millionaire factories is confiscation, then I am for confiscation."

"Why, Glen!" said Harry, with great astonishment, "there is not a single Socialist who advocates confiscation. I am a Socialist to the extent that I believe in Government ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution. I read all your Socialistic papers—The New Nation, Twentieth Century, The Coming Nation, Appeal to Reason, The New Time, etc. I have read many of your Socialist books, among them 'Merry England,' 'The Human Drift,' 'Looking Backward,' etc., and am now reading 'Equality,' the great work Edward Bellamy has just put out, and among them all not one of them advocates confiscation.

"They all advocate national co-operation. They want the factories, the railroads, telegraph, department stores, etc., all run by the Government, just as the postoffice and public schools are now run. That is Socialism, and you have made me a convert to it. I believe it will drive poverty and want, with their natural attendant, crime, out of the land, and will establish such a brotherhood on earth as Christ taught, but I don't believe in confiscation, and I never heard of a Socialist who did, unless it be you. They all want the Government to build more factories, and operate them, but not forcibly take those now held by the millionaires."

"But built by the people," chimed in Glen, but Harry continued without replying:

"King C. Gillette, in his book, 'Human Drift,' advocates the formation of a gigantic co-operative company by the people, which will gradually enter the different lines of production until it absorbs the whole industrial system, and all competition is crushed out, and we have one great company doing all the business of the whole country for the people, at cost."

"'Human Drift' is a great book, and has done much to educate the people on the evils of the present industrial system, based on competition as it is, but," Glen smilingly continued, "would the factory owners run out of business and closed up by the competition of Mr. Gillette's all-devouring giant feel any better over the matter, or suffer any less, than to be confiscated outright? Is it morally wrong to do by direction that which it is right to do by indirection?"

"Well, well," replied Harry, somewhat perplexed at Glen's sally; "but no Socialist advocates confiscation. In 'Equality' Mr. Bellamy establishes Government supply stores, to furnish goods at cost to the Government employes. The railroads are operated by the Government, which, in addition to the other employes, makes five million people to be supplied with goods. Then factories are built and operated to make the goods. This makes more employes to be supplied with goods, and more customers and consumers of the private factories are gone. Gradually the lines of the Government business are extended, by doing its own importing for the Government employe-supply stores, etc., and more customers of pri-

vate institutions thus disappear, until one after another of the factories and enterprises conducted by private capital have to discontinue business for want of customers, and the people engaged in them have to seek the Government employ. This process continues until all private industries are crushed out, and the co-operative commonwealth comes as the natural product of the competition of Government-conducted industries. But, bless you! he doesn't advocate confiscation. No. That's wrong, and will never do, Glen."

"Most everybody advocates confiscation, only they haven't found it out yet," said Glen; "but it is proven by the graduated income and inheritance tax laws they have just made a part of the United States Constitution. Both amount to a partial confiscation of very large incomes and inheritances. The new currency law, providing for legal-tender bullion certificates, by which the volume of money has been doubled, as certainly confiscates one-half of all the bonds and obligations held by the creditor class as if the law were made to say only one-half of them could be collected in our courts. The principle, I tell you, has become quite deep-seated, but it is sailing under a false name, as yet. And why shouldn't the people favor it? Don't they want to get back their own?

"As to Edward Bellamy, he has no greater admirer than I. No one, to my mind, has done so much for Socialism, for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, the brotherhood of man, as he. The people never had a purer teacher or a better friend that Bellamy. No one should fail to read 'Looking Backward'

and 'Equality.' The latter, as well as the former, is one of the greatest books ever written. It clearly shows there can be no equality until all are equally financially independent by receiving the same pay. This is ideal and perfect Socialism, and as soon as the Government takes possession of all monopolies, and begins conducting the business of production and distribution, I predict he will have a great following in favor of marching on until that ideal Socialism is reached, and complete independence and perfect equality is established, by paying all employes of the Government, all members of the great co-operative commonwealth, alike.

"The picture 'Equality' paints is all right except at the starting point—the method it has of putting the great scheme into operation; and there Dr. Leete, the spokesman, hesitates as if he, himself, had gotten mixed in his history, or was, in fact, uncertain as to whether he was right or not.

"As you say, 'Equality' makes the Government gradually enter the business of production and distribution, and finally all competition is driven from the field, and all private industry is forced into bankruptcy, or compelled to quit business for the want of customers."

"Yes," drawled out Harry, in a meditative mood.

"You take a high moral ground against confiscation by law," continued Glen, "yet you see no wrong in Mr. Bellamy's method of nationalizing all industries, which will indirectly confiscate not only the property of the millionaires, but everybody else. Now, I want to ask you again: Is it right to do by indirection what it is wrong to do by direction? The method 'Equality' pro-

poses will certainly confiscate property by making it worthless. Can there be any difference in morals between the Government taking possession of a factory without compensation to the owner, and its building another factory by its side for the sole purpose of taking away all its customers and rendering it worthless? You 'strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.' You see here in a competitive system, as business is now conducted, a great monster, that you agree is daily murdering helpless women and children, and bringing a blight upon our land, but you say 'we can't kill him; that would be wrong; but we will just pen the beast up and starve him to death—there is no wrong in that, you know.'

"I say confiscate by law the accumulation of the millionaires, and turn it over to the Government for the benefit of the people who have produced it. Do it outright and above-board, and not by this indirect method of ruining their business. We don't want these factories and millionaires' concerns closed for one single day, to deteriorate and depreciate in value, as they certainly would do by Mr. Bellamy's method, as set forth in 'Equality.'

"Again, this indirect method of confiscation strikes at all alike—the multimillionaire, who has appropriated the people's earnings, and the little fellow, who only has his honest accumulations. To my mind it is much worse than outright confiscation such as I favor, for it kills the weak, helpless, and innocent first, and leaves the strong, wicked, and guilty for us to have a desperate fight with. It says in effect: Let the brutes who need exterminating the worst live the longest, by allowing them

to devour the weak and helpless, for it proposes to shut them all up by themselves and have the strong prey on the weak until, finally, the last and strongest dies of starvation. It is 'the beauties of our competitive system' exemplified which all Socialists detest, and I too much to call on it to help establish the co-operative commonwealth.

"No, Harry; there is no wrong in morals in the Government taking possession of the millionaires' trusts and combines, without compensation, and operating them for the benefit of the people; and surely there is no greater wrong than in passing income and inheritance tax laws and inflating the currency, as we have just done, or in starting great factories by the Government to make goods for the people at cost, and thus ruining their business and closing up their establishments.

"You see, we have had so much of this last kind of confiscation of the means of small business men by the great trusts and gigantic combines under this 'beautiful competitive system' that we Socialists even forget it is confiscation. It is so common that we ought not to be afraid of it by this time, when we see it confiscates the means of ninety-five per cent of the men who engage in business. All I propose and advocate is to give the trusts and combines, that have been doing the confiscating, a dose of their own medicine. They ought to stand a little of what they have been giving other people so much of. Don't you think so?" But Harry made no reply.

"You see it is all in the way we look at this matter. We have been seeing all this confiscation of small business concerns by the great trusts and combines through the

spectacles of the competitive system, and so we see no wrong. We look at murder all about us through the same 'specs' and forget it is murder. A man kills his wife in Chicago, and the whole country is shocked. The papers are full of it; it is a terrible affair. Millions read about it; but fifty people are murdered—driven to suicide—by the competitive system, in the fair month of June, 1897, in the same city, and they hardly get a mention, and we scarcely know it has happened until the police records are compiled at the end of the month. It is all murder, though, Harry, just the same; you and I, and all Socialists, know that.

"The confiscation I advocate, and the kind we see going on about us everywhere, and the kind Edward Bellamy and King C. Gillette advocate on a larger scale, are all the same. It is all confiscation alike. Mine, however, is so much more just. I don't strike at the weaklings first, and thus for a time, at least, augment crime, poverty, and want, but at the big, strong fellows who have been causing it."

All this time Harry had been listening intently, his eyes fairly beaming within him, and when Glen concluded he smilingly said: "I ~~am~~ opposed to confiscation outright, as you advocate it, but I'll tell you why. Under your tutelage I have learned so rapidly, and have so radically changed my views, that I am afraid to acquiesce in this matter for fear you will think me not of strong mind. But where did you ever hear this argument you use, anyway? No Socialist ever made it."

Glen replied with a smile on his face: "It was born in my own mind, Harry; I never heard or read of it any-

where, yet we never even think a new thought now, and there probably have been advocates of what I propose, who have used the same argument, but I never heard of them, if there have been."

"You pose as a teacher to Bellamy, do you?" said Harry, good-naturedly. But without waiting for an answer he continued: "If we could take all these great millionaire concerns, and have the Government step right in and keep them all running, producing goods for the people at cost, and giving employment to all who asked it, it would be grand, wouldn't it? It would, as you say, begin to reduce crime, poverty, and want from the first day the Government took control. New hope would at once spring into the breast of every man who toils."

"But I thought you were not in favor of it?" Glen quickly said.

"Well, we haven't got the power to do it, anyway, so there is no use thinking about it," continued Harry. "We can't confiscate by law the property of the millionaires, no matter how much we may desire it, nor however dangerous their fortunes may become."

"What's that you say?" replied Glen, with a look of mild indignation on his face. "Didn't you tell me yesterday that you had signed a petition asking that an amendment be submitted to the people to vote upon, providing that both Lyman Gage and Mark Hanna be hanged? and didn't you go on explaining to me how it was really a fact that now the people had the power to even sentence a man to be hanged, by their vote, if they desired to exercise that power, and yet you think we

haven't the power to confiscate the property in the possession of the millionaires, by vote? You have lived under this 'beautiful competitive system' so long that you, too, like the millionaires, think the right to property is above the right to life." And Glen smiled, as he saw the predicament Harry was in.

"But you say this is your own scheme; so no one in the United States Constitutional Convention will be likely to propose such a thing," said Harry.

"You remember," replied Glen, "of my writing very late nights, some time ago?"

"Yes," said Harry.

"Well, I was then writing all my views on this matter—as I have here given them to you—to Mark Mishler."

This almost took Harry's breath away, but he finally said: "Do you suppose he will act on it? He doesn't know you."

"That might not make any difference; but he does know of me," and for the first time Glen made known to his roommate the secret of how he was receiving his education.

Soon Glen received a letter from Mr. Mishler, saying he had duly considered the matter, and had laid it before the Radical leaders. He had done so without giving Glen credit, believing that if it was considered his own scheme, rather than that of a young boy, it would carry more weight, and would be more likely to be adopted. That he had been rewarded with success, and was glad to say an amendment, embodying his views, would soon be presented, and that at the proper time he would receive the credit of it. Mr. Mishler had himself, in the past,

been opposed to confiscation by law, on the moral ground that it was wrong, but inconsistently favored it by indirection—by having the Government enter the different avenues of business on a large scale, and killing off all private industries by its competition. Glen's argument completely changed his ideas of the matter, and he and Harry, you may well suppose, were thrown into ecstasy by things soon to follow. Glen was especially happy. With the prospect of an opportunity for all to work in Government factories he became an optimist indeed. Harry, of course, was pleased, yet at times he was distressed. He remembered Glen's talk about Ethel Davis. Glen did love her, but it "was only a brother's love;" no matter how much he loved anyone, he was sure his judgment would keep him from seeking to win her hand, because of pecuniary matters. These had been Glen's words, and Harry often thought of them. The obstacle of finance removed, would Glen be his rival? What John Wise jokingly said of their resemblance often ran through his mind. He was deeply in love—it was but natural that it should. He had no occasion to be concerned, however. Glen was not to contest with him for the hand of Ethel Davis.

CHAPTER VI.

Turning again to the Convention, we have come to the introduction of the amendment that caused the revolution; the one that brought pain and sorrow to some hearts, as the revolutionists jokingly said, even to the extent of stopping action entirely. And to Glen Brown is due the credit of its being offered in the Convention.

But it brought sunshine, not to our Government only, but to all the world, which had long been shrouded in darkness and almost driven to despair.

It was on this amendment, or rather on one that would effect the same ends, but by less radical means, that Mark Mishler had set his heart ever since, like a sweet day-dream, he had pictured in his mind's eye, on that afternoon in his office in Springfield, Ill., the new Republic in all its grandeur and splendor, founded on equal justice to all and special privilege to none. It was the proudest moment of his life when he called Prof. Frank Parsons to the chair, and, taking the floor of the Convention for the first time since it had been in session, read as follows:

"All real estate, all personal property kept for sale, all moneys, bonds, stocks, notes, or other evidences of indebtedness in excess of a half-million dollars in value, owned by any resident of the United States, or by any non-resident if said property is within the jurisdiction of

the United States, shall, on the ratification of this amendment to the Constitution of the United States, become the property of the Government of said United States."

"Gentlemen of this Convention," he continued, addressing the assemblage, "the hosts of the people, commissioned by humanity to fight this, the last and greatest battle in the history of the world, have been fighting along the skirmish line. We have driven in the pickets, but the great battle is yet to be waged. The enemy long ago hoisted the black flag, and it is now being carried by all the warriors of avarice and greed. We must know what it is to lose this fight. If lost, we start on the downward grade, and our civilization, like all that have preceded it, will be disrupted; disintegration must overtake it, and all that will be left for future ages will be the story of its rise and fall. Rome fell when two per cent of her people owned all the empire. It remains for us to say whether or not we shall follow in her footsteps. Are we to learn nothing from the terrible fate that met that grand and glorious nation and her people? Shall we blindly shut our eyes to that teacher of experience, and be led by corporate greed over the brink of ruin and into the chasm of eternal woe? I say NO! In the name of suffering humanity we must win this fight. In the sight of God I say this amendment shall pass; that right shall prevail and truth triumph.

"This Convention has done worthy work in making changes in the details of the administration of the Government. Those changes are commendable. But what consolation is it to a starving man to know he can vote for

his postmaster; that he will get fairer representation in Congress; that he can help choose a Supreme Court and a President; that he can get just rates on railroads, and at the express and the telegraph offices; that he can have a safe place in which to deposit his earnings?

"'What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and he lose his soul?'

"You have crushed a few trusts that will conserve his wants and pleasures, but will you now leave the hundreds unharmed to hold full sway in every solitary avenue of production, and to prey upon mankind? I say we never shall.

"Pass this amendment and you restore to mankind their stolen inheritance; you restore to them the product of their own labor—their own genius. Pass it, and you restore to them the product of society. It is proposed that all above a half-million dollars held by each individual be turned into the Government's common fund. Think of it! A half-million dollars still left to each individual who now has more than that amount. Can anyone conceive of such a sum? If it were in silver dollars, and you counted eight hours a day for twenty days, counting sixty pieces to the minute, you could hardly count it. If born in the days of Christ, and after paying all expenses in supporting themselves and families, they had laid by and saved up each day since, through sunshine and storm, through health and sickness, the sum of one dollar, they would have little more than the sum we propose to leave to them."

At this point he set forth all the argument conveyed in Glen's letter and shown in the preceding chapter, but,

as he wrote to Glen, he did not at that time give him the credit of originating the amendment. And then he continued:

"This has been an era of great increase of wealth and property, but it matters not how rich, as a Nation, we become; so long as these increased riches are all appropriated by the few, we as a people will continue to be in poverty. For a quarter of a century past these legislative-favored few, and their petty politicians, who have been the recipients of their favor by corporation attorneyships, etc., have been trying to befog the people, always teaching them that little could be gained by legislation. They, who never did an honest day's work, are telling us, the people, that we must depend upon our own labor and industry, and not upon legislative enactment, for a living; that 'if a man wants to get along in the world he must be industrious, honest, faithful, and true to the interests of his employer,' with special emphasis on the last clause! All of which is right and true, and if uttered by honest men for honest purposes no exceptions could be taken, but with these men it is the old story of 'stealing the livery of Heaven to serve the devil.' It would have sounded better if the living example had not been present of men who not only made a living, but got rich by law and not by labor. I have heard these sharks of plutocracy laugh heartily about the ignorant masses wanting some 'law passed to make them rich.' They would say: 'They want the Legislature to earn their living, instead of doing it themselves,' never mentioning the fact that legislation was supporting them, however. And from such kind of teaching, I have heard laboring men say:

'I have no use for politics. I just attend strictly to my own business, and don't look to Congress or the Legislature to support my family.'

"And then again, it has been the special mission of these co-conspirators to cite the people to the trials and tribulations of preceding generations—how they came to a new country, and by hardships unknown to us eked out a miserable existence. They have told us how our fathers drove long distances to market to trade their produce for a little tea, coffee, salt, spices, and calico. Oh, what miserable wretches! to cite the suffering of our fathers, which could not be avoided, to make us content to bear our heavy burdens, which can be easily lightened! It is the same demon, hiding his cloven hoofs under the cloak of Christian truth. These same plutocrats did not tell us that, while our fathers suffered much, they found the woods teeming with wild game, with nuts, fruit, and wild honey; that the streams were then full of fish; that all these conditions were found almost sufficient to sustain life; and that there were few to partake of the bounties of nature. All these have long since disappeared.

"In their insincerity, they failed to tell the people that, in the early days of 1850, when the great Mississippi valley was being settled by as brave and as noble a people as ever lived, they had to work with rude tools, made by naked hands; that inventive genius had not, at that time, by improved machinery, increased the productive power of labor from ten to a hundred-fold; and that if, with their own bare hands, our ancestors in 1850, and prior thereto, could make a good living, we, in the dawn of the twentieth century, with the aid of inventive genius, should by the same amount of labor live in luxury.

"It is arguments of this kind—half-true, half-false—that have stemmed the rising tide of revolution for many years past. It can no longer do it. The people will rise and assert their rights, and if this Convention does not submit this amendment to them I prophesy that they will, by petition under the new amendment providing therefor, see that it is submitted to their vote.

"The old threadbare and oft-repeated saying, 'You are better off than your father,' has, within the past few years, come to be decidedly untrue. But if it was true it would be no defense for present conditions, for labor, if given the opportunity to work, and given all that it earns, will now afford every comfort and many of the luxuries of life."

Here a member interrupted: "So the gentleman really stands here, the champion of confiscation, and the advocate of a shiftless mob, who never manifested any ability for accumulation! When will your crowd be ready for a second divide?"

With eyes flashing and his whole body trembling with emotion, Mr. Mishler said: "I am not the champion of confiscation. We ask no divide. We only ask that what labor has produced—and the title to which, by the records of high Heaven, it has never parted with—be delivered back to it. Stolen property never carries title. This is not confiscation. It is restoration. That is what I advocate. I champion restoration. Who, may I ask, earned and produced the wealth of the multimillionaire? He owns railroads. We never saw him shovel any dirt, drive a spike, lay a rail, or even so much as supervise a job from his office or abode. How came he to have a rail-

road? How long would it take him to build it? Longer than the world has stood! He owns grand palaces, costing millions. Who built them? How does all this come about? He has an income of ten millions a year. Let us consider what this means, anyway.

"A prosperous, well-to-do man has an income of one thousand per year. What does that mean? What is his income? It means he is able to appropriate to his own use one thousand dollars' worth of the annual products of the world. And in the course of the year he buys one thousand dollars' worth of goods. A hundred men may, and probably have, worked in all the different parts of the world making those goods, and in bringing them to him, yet if he was skilled in all the different industries, and could have been magically transported to the different parts of the world, he could have made them all himself, and the men who produced them probably expended about the same amount of labor making them as it took him to earn his one thousand dollars, and to get which he gives an equivalent. And he can say: 'I could have made in the year all that my income has bought for me, had I been skilled in many industries instead of one. We have but exchanged works; we are all benefited—no one is wronged.' But how about the man with the eight-million-dollar income, as Rockefeller has? He appropriates to his own use and luxury eight million dollars' worth of the annual product of the world; eight thousand times as much as the other man—the labor of eight thousand men. Does he labor in return, for the total product of this great army of men? No! Then their labor he appropriates from the annual

products of the world, and for it the people of the country receive no equivalent worthy of the mention."

"But he can't and doesn't consume his great income. It is all turned right over, and goes out among the whole people again," broke in one of the plutocratic members.

"He doesn't?" was the quick response of Mr. Mishler. "If he doesn't, if he does not get the benefit of his income, if it is not in fact his own, then he can have no complaint to offer against this amendment. The transfer of his colossal fortune to the Government (the people) would be but a formal matter. But he does consume it To satisfy yourself of this, you need but ask the question: 'Who, among all the people, consumes one farthing of it free gratis, without rendering to him an equivalent?' No one! Not a soul can consume a penny of that income without doing service or giving value received to Mr. Rockefeller. No one partakes of the income of any millionaire without rendering a service. It may be—yes, most always is—light and trivial, and of no benefit to the world or humanity in any manner or form, but it is just such foolish and useless services the whole people are performing for our whole horde of millionaires that has so depleted the productive power of the people and reduced us to such dire extremeties of poverty and want. There is a great army of people, sufficient to fill the Nation's granaries to overflowing with every necessary of life, all the time working in non-productive and useless industries in the endeavor to partake of a pittance of the incomes of these millionaires. It is not only the people who are employed by them as domestic servants, but this army is made up of persons in every avenue and walk of

life We all, at some time or other, render a little service that goes to make up the grand total of all the labor of this great army.

"How far this labor permeates the whole social system and is performed by the whole country can no better be illustrated than by relating an incident of a Western man who recently visited a summer resort of these people on the shores of New England. He saw there a city of several thousand people, and many more scattered along the coast and among the little valleys, but he saw no factories, no farms, except little truck patches, and nothing by which the people could earn a livelihood. Finally he asked: 'What do the people do here for a living? I see no factories nor farms.' 'Well,' was the answer he received, 'we have two thousand summer residents here, made up of the rich classes from the cities. There are many millionaires among them. During the summer we "do" them, and during the dull winter season we try to "do" each other.'

"'I see,' replied the Westerner; 'and these millionaires "do" us fellows in the West, and, all in all, we are getting pretty badly "done up," too. We support the whole crowd of you. It is little wonder so few of us are ever able to visit the seashore.'

"Yes, gentlemen, the income of the millionaire is his own. It matters not if it is money, or what not; it will buy goods, the product of labor, and it matters not if it be wheat, cotton, food for his table, clothing for his back; whether he spends it on body-guards and servants, or in employing men to build fine palaces or pleasure yachts, or in maintaining a summer home at the seashore; with

that income he is able to divert the labor of thousands of men to his own use, and for which the world gets no equivalent. He is the owner of slaves, gentlemen! He is but one! Think of all this myriad of multimillionaires. Gentlemen, they appropriate to their own use one-half the labor of all the people in this whole world, and give to them, in return for it all, naught but frowns of contempt.

"Gentlemen! We are half-slave!—and to a master, not like the kind ones of old, who encouraged the slaves in their petty pleasures, who nourished them in their sickness and cared for them in their old age; but to a master who knows no mercy—who knows no God but the god of greed; who cares not for us when we are sick, and who will not decently bury us when dead, much less minister to our wants and needs in our declining years, but who leaves us to the tender mercies of charity, or the unkind provision of the law. Slaves to masters who sit in their magnificent homes and princely palaces, surrounded by every luxury that human mind can wish or caprice can desire, and there, with hearts of stone, watch us, as

" 'Over the hills to the poorhouse
We wander alone to die.'

"Gentlemen of this Convention, the words of the immortal Lincoln are as true to-day as the day they were uttered: 'This Nation cannot long exist half-slave and half-free;' and I say the danger of having all the common people half-slave is greater to the Republic than having half the people total slaves and half the people free.

"We freed the blacks from total slavery. Now, shall we free the half-slave whites? We abolished negro slavery. How? By this court of last resort—the people; that stands above all other courts, above Legislatures, and above Congress, and before which we now bring our case on final appeal.

"By an amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America slavery was abolished. There was as much property in the negro slave, recognized by the Constitution of the United States, as in horses, cattle, land, or anything else. Some may suppose they were freed, and property in human flesh was abolished by the war and the emancipation proclamation of Lincoln. That proclamation expressly stated that slavery should not be abolished in New Orleans and in certain other parishes in Louisiana, nor in West Virginia, because those territories were not then in rebellion; and it never pretended to free the slaves in the States not in open revolt, but stated the States in which they were declared free, and it only named the ones which had seceded, leaving all the slaves in the border States of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware still shackled and in bondage. It was an amendment to the Constitution of the United States that made all the slaves freemen, and by which all this vast amount of property in all the States, whether in rebellion or not, was confiscated. But it was legally done; done because the rights of the slaves and the life of the Republic was a higher right than that of the property owners. The people then in their sovereign right did this, that the Republic might live, because they believed, with Lincoln,

it could 'not live half-slave and half-free.' We shall now exercise this same sovereign right to pass this amendment, and free the half-slaves that corporate greed has shackled, and we will do it for the same purpose, 'that the Republic may live!' The only wonder is that it has lived until this year, 1901, to see the birth of the twentieth century. For more than a half-dozen years statesmen, noted for their conservatism, have prophesied that it would not live to see it, and I believe it has only survived because of the hope held out for the past four years, that, by this Convention, justice would be done. The right of the survival of the Government is the highest right known to mortal man; all else is subordinate to it, for with its death anarchy reigns, and every right is lost. Many instances can be cited of the people confiscating private property to perpetuate their government besides our confiscation of property in slaves. France confiscated millions upon millions of church property. Mexico did the same thing. And they did it, not in accordance, but in violation of existing law.

"The property in slaves was legally and lawfully confiscated, if we must use that term, and we should, and I believe do, now fully understand our power. It is not confiscation, however, but restoration, that we demand. Yes! I repeat it; it is restoration that we champion.

"It is time the people of this world knew that there is no wealth without someone creating it. But it seems there are many yet who need to learn that lesson. They are so accustomed to seeing men become enormously rich, and never create a dollar's worth of anything, that they almost believe that money, the representative of property, grows on bushes.

"All wealth is the product of labor. True, values may be increased by law or speculation, or, as in the case of land, by the settling of the country, but, nevertheless, all actual wealth is the product of labor. Here is an axiom it would be well for us to ponder over: THE ANNUAL INCOME OF ALL THE PEOPLE CAN NEVER EXCEED THE ANNUAL PRODUCT OF ALL THE PEOPLE'S LABOR.

"We cannot study this too long nor think of it too often. We speak of the enormous incomes we know men to enjoy in this world, and seemingly forget what these incomes mean. As already stated, they simply mean that the recipients are able to appropriate to their own use and enjoyment so much of the annual product of the world, all produced by labor. And when one man enjoys, each year, what equals the product of ten thousand men, it means so much taken from the yearly supply at Nature's storehouse. When we find men who, by virtue of their millions, 'toil not, neither do they spin,' taking one-half the contents of this great produce magazine, then we must know that one-half of our labor is gone for naught. Again I say we are half slaves! Under the guise of law that we ourselves are supposed to make, we find one-half of all our hard earnings being snatched from us.

"We ask that this amendment pass, and that the people be allowed to stop this steal. Would we allow a royal prince to roam over our fair land applying the torch to the product of the labor of ten thousand men? Would we permit thousands of men to thus annually pillage the land, destroying one-half the product of all our people's

labor? Would we license men to go with armed bands, like a conquering enemy, foraging upon our people and extorting from them one-half of all our products? Under the guise of law we do this very thing. Conquering princes do not go meandering with armor-clad hosts about the country, armed with glittering spears and shining lances, to collect the plunder. That would require time and take them away from their palaces and their pleasure; it would entail work, and accompanying danger, and make these royal princes commingle with the common herd. Oh no! those methods were the crude ways of their royal ancestors. They knew no better way than to sally forth and levy toll on every passer-by, but now, under cunningly devised laws, bought of Legislatures and Congress, the plundered are made to bring the toll and tribute to their mansion doors, store it away in their overflowing granaries; yes, and then guard it while in store.

"We might learn from the Busy Bees' Convention, reported in Vol. IX., No. 46, of Justice, by D. Cavanaugh. I will read it:

"THE BEES AND THE DRONES.

"'You see, my friends,' said a big Hornet at the Busy Bees' Convention, 'what you really need is more drones. The drones eat lots of honey. That gives you more work to make more honey. The more drones you have, the more honey is eaten. Why, my friends, if you didn't have drones you wouldn't have anybody to eat your honey, and you'd starve to death for the want of work.

"'Of course,' continued the Hornet, 'the drones eat all they can, but they ought to try and eat more, then you'd be prosperous. A glutton drone is a blessing. A dyspeptic drone is a curse. Let the drones eat, eat, con-

sume, burn, destroy, anything to get rid of this accursed surplus. Then you'd have plenty of work. Work! That's what you need, my friends, plenty of work.' (Loud applause.)

"'Mr. Speaker,' said a meek-looking Bee, 'what you say seems plausible, but don't you think that what we really need is a chance to produce some honey for ourselves? If the drones would only let us get at this awful surplus, we'd get rid of it in short order. What we ought to do, it seems to me, is to compel the drones to remove those "keep off the flowers" signs. Then we could make lots of honey for ourselves, and only lazy bees would be hungry. Why should we allow the fields and flowers to waste and wither year after year, while we go hungry? The flowers were made for all of us, my friends, and no drone should be allowed to keep them out of use.'

"Cries of 'Put him out!' 'Anarchist!' 'Depraved and irresponsible vagabond!' 'Pest of society,' etc.

"The millionaires," Mark Mishler resumed, "are the drones of society. They produce nothing, yet they eat the heartiest and are the most robust-looking of all our race. We ask the enforcement of the Scriptural doctrine: 'If he shall not work, neither shall he eat.' It is the teaching of God, and appeals to the heart of man. Colonel Ingersoll once said: 'Blessed are the extravagant rich. A rich spendthrift is a blessing. A rich miser is a curse. Let the rich spend.'

"I suppose if he ever prayed, he would pray for the rich to be richer, that they might be more extravagant! that they might spend more, give more to the poor, endow more colleges for their fellow-millionaires' children, and which the poor could never enter. I suppose he would advise the poor to heap more upon the heavily laden tables of the rich, and assure them that the more they

piled on the more crumbs would fall to the floor to appease their hunger.

"This teaching is especially hard coming from Ingersoll, as he denies us not only any pleasure or comfort in this world, but a world to come. In this struggle, however, I trust we will follow, not his teaching, but the teaching of God.

"I have spoken of the amount of the product of labor that is thus annually taken from the people who produce it as one-half. My opinion is that it is much more than that; the exact amount, of course, it is impossible to ascertain, but Eltweed Pomeroy, as long ago as 1896, in The Arena, made the following startling showing from the English statistics on the inheritance law of that country. It divides the people into seven classes, and shows the percentage of the people who own the different percentages of the property, as follows:

	Population Percentage.	Wealth Percentage.
No. 1. Property nothing.....	56.723	0
No. 2. Under $500.....	11.521	.617
No. 3. Under $1,500.....	11.25	2.077
No. 4. $1,500 to $5,000.....	10.852	5.113
No. 5. $5,000 to $50,000.....	7.935	24.693
No. 6. $50,000 to $1,250,000..	1.691	54.223
No. 7. Over $1,250,000.....	.628	13.277
	100	100

"By this it is seen that over 68 per cent of the people (classes 1 and 2) do not own two-thirds of 1 per cent of the property. If we add the first three classes together, we find that 80 per cent of the people own less than 3 per cent of the property of the kingdom, and, by add-

ing the first four classes, it is seen that 90 per cent own less than 8 per cent of it, while less than 10 per cent of the people own over 92 per cent of it, if we take the last three classes. By taking the last two classes, we find that less than one-fiftieth of the people (less than 2 per cent) own over two-thirds of all the property of all England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Rome fell when 2 per cent owned all. How long will it take the plutocrats of the British Empire to get the other one-third? How long will this Empire stand?

"Mr. Pomeroy also shows, by the statistics of the State of Massachusetts, that the same condition of affairs prevails here. In computing these figures on the British Empire, he takes only the male inhabitants above twenty-five years of age, so there can be no claim that they show a greater percentage of wealth than actually exists. In fact, it cannot be shown nearly so bad as it actually is. The condition of the whole United States is no better. About the same time that these figures were compiled, back in 1897, the Hon. Roger Q. Mills, United States Senator from Texas, in a speech in the Senate, said: 'Less than 25,000 people own more than half of the United States.'

"The following are figures made at that time, of the wealth of the plutocrats of this country:

Persons.	Each Worth.	Totals.
200	$20,000,000	$4,000,000,000
400	10,000,000	4,000,000,000
1,000	5,000,000	5,000,000,000
2,000	2,500,000	5,000,000,000
6,000	1,000,000	6,000,000,000
15,000	500,000	7,500,000,000
24,600 persons worth.....		$31,500,000,000

"That eminent authority, Thomas G. Shearman, agreed that these figures were fair estimates, and there is no question, in fact, of their accuracy.

"And yet men are here contending that these immense fortunes are honest accumulations. Such a claim is adding insult to injury. They got their wealth very largely by unjust laws bought of Congress and State Legislatures. Why do men bribe legislators? Is it to get laws passed to benefit and protect the rights of the people? It is that they may rob the people of their rights, and bring immense accumulation to themselves. That corruption has long held sway in Legislative bodies everywhere we all know. The late Hon. Benjamin Butterworth, ex-Congressman from Ohio, and one of the foremost and purest men of his time, in the city of Philadelphia, back in 1897, attested the fact that corruption ruled everywhere, and made the most awful arraignment of legislative bodies ever heard; he closed by saying: 'The country stands in greater danger to-day than when Fort Sumter was fired upon.'

"He realized the fact that the people were being robbed of their rights and the fruits of their labors by unjust and vicious legislation, and he must have seen that unless their rights and earnings were restored to them the country would not live.

"We are going to restore it, and in doing so we are surprised to find how few we have to deal with, and how few have enjoyed the fruits of this unjust legislation, which brought the Nation almost face to face with death. We have less than 10,000 people to deal with, as only about that number have above a half-million of property;

yet these 10,000 have, all told, over twenty billion, and by the enactment of this amendment to the Constitution it will all be turned over to the Government for the people's benefit. Its power for good is immeasurable, and the danger of longer leaving this vast sum in the hands of so few is indescribable. They should not ask it, and he who defends it is the enemy of every living person and every babe yet to be born.

"Gentlemen of this Convention, is any further appeal necessary? Are not these figures appalling enough? Is it not enough to make us tremble for the welfare of our people, and the stability of our Nation? And yet we hear the gibes and the jeers here to-day of men, the pimps of plutocracy—there are few genuine plutocrats here—who have never added a dollar of wealth to this world in all their days; who never knew an honest day's toil; who have always eaten honey with drones—and of others' making. They are here, charging us with being anarchists, but they, themselves, are threatening rebellion; fearing the verdict of the people, the court of last resort, they are saying, beforehand, that they will not bide its decision. I say they are anarchists. They have subverted every law of God, of nature, and of common decency in their efforts (well-nigh successful) to rule this world in their own interests, and make all the people in it their slaves. And now, when we say Halt! Stop your dastardly deeds! they propose to ruin all. They will not! Before an aroused and enraged people they will appear weak and helpless lambs, but in fact will be cowardly curs. I have not only faith in the people properly deciding this question, but I also have faith in their abil-

ity to properly deal with these plutocrats. We always have taken care of them in the past, and we can take care of them in the future, although it may be a different kind of care. We bid them hold their peace.

"We are asked by these people, who are now holding title to all the people's earnings: 'What will you do with this property?' I answer: 'What we like.' A court in deciding who are the owners of property never asks the interested party what he is going to do with it. The people created this property; it is theirs; and they now ask the delivery of the deed that has all these years been held by pretenders, by virtue of iniquitous legislation. They declare that the great body of the common people are the legal heirs to this property; that these possessors are bastards and impostors; and instead of talking rebellion and refusing to abide the decision of the Court, these giants of greed and pelf should be thankful for the long use of the property they have wrongfully enjoyed.

"While I say our answer to the question as to what we will do with this property is 'What we like,' I still contend that the benefit to the people by the transfer of these immense accumulations of wealth to the Government is too far-reaching to be measured or foretold; but on this point I do not care to dwell further than to say it will no doubt bring about changes in the methods of production and distribution that will reduce to a minimum the non-productive labor and wasted energies of the people, which, under our present methods of doing business, represents fully one-half the labor expended by the masses. When we realize that the leeches we are now fighting not only absorb one-half our energies, but restoration to our

rights will inaugurate a system that will further double the power of labor, the winning of this battle means worlds to the people. It means so much that it must be won; it will be won; and, once won, there will be 'peace on earth, good-will to men.'"

The ovation tendered Mr. Mishler on closing his address was one of the most prolonged and demonstrative ever given by a deliberative body in the history of the world. It seemed never-ending, and was indeed one of the greatest tributes ever paid to man. No one attempted to reply that day; to do so would have been superb gall and egotism. Business was entirely suspended by the Convention. In the bedlam that reigned an adjournment was taken, but it was wholly unknown to more than one-tenth of the members of the body.

The following day it was, on motion, decided that the debate should continue for two weeks, when a vote would be taken on the resolution. During that time Judge Maguire, John P. Altgeld, Hazen S. Pingree, John Wanamaker, Edward Bellamy, E. V. Debs, J. R. Sovereign, Tommy Morgan, Tom L. Johnson, and numerous others made the grandest efforts of their lives in its defense. Mr. Johnson, a many-times millionaire, stood for it in one of the most touching speeches ever uttered. He proved himself a man, the grandest handiwork of God. He not only defended the right and justice of it, but the practicability of the Government conducting the enterprises in which, by virtue of the amendment, it would be the chief stockholder. His minute description of the methods of conducting great businesses, amounting to a science, was sublime. He

showed how the Government could step in and assume the operation of these gigantic enterprises, without even a ripple in the business world, by simply continuing the methods then in operation. He pointed out the wasted energies, under the old competitive system then in vogue, in a most striking manner, and in a way few had ever before heard. He, as a great business man, had noted wasted labor where few had ever dreamed of there being any, and showed that the saving of this wasted energy by the concentration of all the great businesses under one control and management would be so great that some began to think the millennium was already at hand.

The representatives of the plutocrats made arguments becoming the drones in the "Busy Bees' Convention." They talked of energy, thrift, and enterprise, of push, pluck, and perseverance, as if they had some, or knew what it was. They talked of the "survival of the fittest," when if that rule had prevailed they would have been dead or in the almshouse. They talked much about the Nation's honor, the public integrity, and maintaining the credit of the country. They talked anarchy, riot, and bloodshed, and the same time continually threatened rebellion themselves. But they were well taunted of this. They were told to rebel, to go; no one would ever fight to keep them! that it would be "good riddance to bad rubbish." One rampant rebel from New York city was asked if he thought "the 96 per cent of the cities' inhabitants who lived in tenements would be ready to rebel and fight for the millionaires?" And he made what he honestly believed was a great retort in "What would they do for work if it was not for the millionaire?"

With the author of "Dogs and Fleas" I think a surgical operation should have been performed on the cranium of such fellows and gray matter inoculated.

But the opposition of this class was of little moment. The only real opposition was led by Uncle Horace Boies of Iowa. He mustered quite a following, presenting the usual arguments against paternalism, and proposed instead that industrial commissions be provided for by an amendment to the United States Constitution. His plan was patterned after the old interstate commerce law and provided that the powers of the Railway Commission be extended so it could arbitrarily and absolutely fix rates regardless of anything. He thus proposed to invest Congress with power to establish like commissions over every industry which was controlled by a trust or combine, with full power to fix the prices of their products. To illustrate, there could be an Oil Commission with sole power to fix the price of oil, and it could require the oil trust to show its books and publish annual statements of its earnings, like the railroads did under the old interstate commerce law. Congress could provide for a Sugar Commission; a Coal Commission; an Iron Commission; Lumber Commission; Cloth Manufacturers' Commission, etc. And these bodies would be given absolute authority to make every trust show its books, publish an annual statement and then it could absolutely fix the price of trust products. But the Convention would not listen to it. It came too late. If proposed five years earlier it would have been adopted and the revolution would have taken a different course or been delayed for many years.

During the two weeks following the delivery of Mr. Mishler's speech, until the vote was taken, hundreds of thousands signed petitions asking for the submission of the amendment. When the final day came to vote the resolution passed by a good majority, and was duly submitted to the State Legislatures for approval.

CHAPTER VII.

The war dogs were growling before the echoes of Mr. Mishler's ovation had died away. Rebellion was rampant among the millionaires and the people under their domination. Excitement soon grew to fever heat. At no time in ante-bellum days was it ever greater. Many of the great dailies, being owned and controlled by millionaires, were constantly predicting war and rebellion, if the amendment was approved by the Legislatures or by the people, and they exerted every effort to make the belief general among the people, so as to accomplish its defeat. They appeared to believe, from the moment the Convention submitted it, that it would finally be approved, and that made their desperation all the greater.

Their talk began to create the general impression that there would be trouble if the amendment was approved and became a part of the organic law of the land; but as to rebellion, the people also soon learned that there was no great danger from that source, as the number whose interests would prompt them to engage in rebellion was very small, and of that number few would ever shoulder a gun and go to war. They knew there were some who would be glad to act as high officers or generals in a rebellion, if they were sure they could keep well back on the hills, out of the reach of all harm or danger, and could get common people enough to stand up to be shot

at. There was nothing they could gain by rebelling, as nothing would be more certain than its failure. An unsuccessful insurrection, they saw at that time, would be a very dangerous undertaking for the millionaires, and furthermore, there never had been, and never could be, a rebellion except over a sectional issue, which this was not. No section could rebel until at least a majority therein were in favor of it, and there was not a State, county, township, or ward in the United States in which the millionaires and their tools were in a majority, or where a majority of the people would be in favor of resisting the Federal Government in carrying out the laws, if the amendment was adopted. In all the country there were probably about ten thousand millionaires who were in desperate straits, willing to do anything to defeat the amendment, or the will of the people after its approval, except to stand up and face guns and bayonets. They never had done this, and as dearly as they loved their ill-gotten gains they never would.

In justice, however, it must be said there were noble exceptions—rich men who were with the people in the great struggle for right and justice. Notable among them was James A. Murray of Butte City, Montana, who, long before the revolution, gave utterance to the following sentiments:

"Why should one man make millions out of the hard work of thousands, and thousands have barely enough to live on? Why should one man, who does very little work, be able to roll in luxury and have more money than he knows what to do with, while thousands of men whose labor produced the wealth are practically penniless?"

Mr. Murray will ever be remembered as one of the

noblest and grandest types of American citizenship. When the revolution came he said he was "simply a trustee of the immense wealth" which the law said was his! If he had lived and worked and saved since the days of Adam he could not have created it; in his own day he could not have created a one-thousandth part of it, and any time the people, who had themselves created it, said they wanted to discontinue the trusteeship, he would not complain. He and many others who might be mentioned were hosts in the cause of the people. But if all the millionaires who were so disposed had been ready to rebel and to fight, they were only a small army—and they would have made a very poor one indeed, when it is remembered that each one would have wanted to be a general!

When the plutocrats and their great dailies saw that the people understood the situation, and that they could not be influenced by the talk of internal trouble, they changed their tactics. Of course, no man ever had said he would rebel; that might have been a little dangerous. It was always a lot of other fellows (whom it was not wise to name) who would rebel. But now the whole talk diverted to what our creditor nations, especially England, would do. She would declare war at once, devastate our country, lay waste the whole land, and completely demolish our cities! They hoped in this way to frighten the people so as to prevent the adoption of the amendment. Whether this was the cause or not, it failed to be approved by the State Legislatures. All the others were adopted except this one, which failed by a close vote to pass several Legislatures that were in session or had been

convened to pass the first amendments proposed by the Convention. Some adjourned without having voted upon it; and while one-quarter of the State Legislatures —the number required to defeat—never refused to pass it, it became evident from the number that did refuse to do so that its final passage by the necessary number was doubtful. As a further hamper there began to develop a sentiment in favor of submitting it to a vote of the people, as provided by the lately adopted amendment. Many said that it was a matter of such vital importance, and of such far-reaching effect, that the people, now that the Constitution gave them the privilege, should decide the matter themselves. This idea became quite prevalent, and several Legislatures which met in the winter of 1901-2 failed to take the matter under consideration when it was known the majority of the members were in favor of its adoption, but believed the matter should be left to the people.

Congress had a right to provide for a vote on it, and this was done in response to the general demand, in January, 1902. The vote, however, was not to be taken until the general election in November of that year. This would leave all the other amendments in force over a year and a half before the vote was taken on this one, and it was thought by that time the people would see whether the Government was making a success of the enterprises it was conducting by virtue of the amendments already adopted—to wit, railroads, telegraphs, express, savings banks, etc. It was understood that if the last amendment carried the Government would have to engage in many other business enterprises that were then

conducted by the great trusts and combines of the country, for it provided that the property should go to the Government. The property, as we have seen, was not to be divided among the people, and if the Government got it, of course it would have to conduct the different businesses it represented.

The Convention had adjourned in May, 1901, not long after submitting this amendment, and all the time the cry of what England would do was kept up by the millionaires and the pimps of plutocracy, as Mishler called their hangers-on. When the Legislatures of a few New England States voted it down, their members were praised to the skies as great statesmen and judicious business men. The States that passed it were unrelentingly condemned, and the legislators were called hoodlums, anarchists, etc. When it became apparent that it would fail of approval by the Legislatures their rejoicing was great, and the country was congratulated on its "fortunate escape from paternalism and socialism." When Congress, in January, 1902, submitted it to a vote of the people, the wail of the great plutocratic metropolitan dailies was again indescribable.

The money-changers were fighting for their lives, and their resources were indeed very great. England was absolutely under their control and ready to do their bidding. She even commenced ordering troops into Canada as soon as Congress provided for the vote, believing this course would convince the American people that war was certain if they proposed to rule their own country contrary to the views of England and her money-changers, by adopting the amendment.

It no doubt would have carried, but this act made the

sentiment in favor of it stronger than before. The old spirit of 1776 was ablaze in an instant in the bosoms of the American people. That British troops should be landed on American soil to browbeat and intimidate American citizens by threats and preparation for war was enough. The die was cast, American blood was on fire, and it seemed as if nothing could prevent war.

No subsidized press then dared to even say "I told you so; we had better not pass this amendment, or we'll have war;" much less did they dare uphold the landing of British troops on American soil. When war is in the air men act differently than on ordinary occasions, a fact that was widely realized after several of their great metropolitan papers were completely demolished and destroyed. It looked like war indeed, and if they wanted to stay in this country they had better defend it. There was an element in Congress in favor of an immediate declaration of war, but the matter was simply canvassed in the caucuses and not called up in open Congress. But Congress did pass a military bill at once, providing for the reorganization of the entire militia of the United States. Militiamen were organized into companies; officered, drilled, and prepared for immediate call to action. The officers received their commissions from the President, and to each man was issued a certificate of enlistment from the Secretary of War. Each company met one evening in every week, and the proceedings of each meeting had to be reported to the war department on printed blanks provided for the purpose. Officers or regular soldiers were sent out over the country, as far as possible, to drill the different companies.

In the course of a few weeks the companies at the

populous centers were organized into regiments, which were likewise officered and drilled together on certain days. There was no city of importance that did not have several regiments. Chicago had over one hundred and fifty, of one thousand men each, and on June 20, 1902, a hundred thousand trained soldiers paraded the streets of that city. Other cities everywhere did as well in proportion to their population. Soon nearly every county in the United States had its regiment, and the companies of the different townships met at the county seat for drill and parade. Nearly four million men were thus equipped within two or three months after the landing of British troops on American soil. By that time, when any one talked of England devastating our country, the quick response was: "What will we be doing all that time?"

These military organizations were also found to be among the greatest educators ever known in campaigns. More than ten million copies of Mark Mishler's great speech before the Convention, together with millions of other documents, were distributed by the officers or members of these organizations. The National Committee in charge of effecting the approval of the amendment was enabled to make a complete organization of its forces in every ward and precinct in the United States, through these bodies, and it carried on a campaign which it could not have otherwise conducted. It was enabled to make an accurate poll of the whole country, and thus learned beforehand that it would carry in every State, and by a two-thirds majority. In fact, in many parts of the Union, sentiment in favor of it was unanimous, and the situation assured a full vote.

Not satisfied with carrying the day and educating our own people, millions of documents were sent to Canada, and into other foreign countries. Rulers tried to stop it as far as possible, but they only excited the curiosity of the people, and aided in the distribution. It is claimed there was not a British soldier who did not read Mark Mishler's speech and other documents on the revolution sent out by the Committee. Glowing accounts, probably exaggerated, of the prosperity of the country and the working of the new government as far as adopted, were sent abroad. The railroads, telegraph, express, postal banks, etc., had now been operated by the Government for about a year, all with complete and perfect success. The receiving of deposits by the Government postal banks of course necessitated the Government loaning money to the people, as it would not do to tie money up and withdraw it from circulation. This the law provided for, and the people found they could borrow cheaper from the Government than they had formerly from the banks, and this tended to reduce all rates of interest.

Over one hundred thousand men had been directly employed by the Government upon the irrigation works in process of construction in the arid lands of the West, and with material bought for that purpose more than two hundred million dollars had thus been expended during the past year. The increase in the circulating medium thus effected (the expense having been met by gold and silver certificates issued by the Government under the new law against the bullion in store, as heretofore explained) made times very good and the country more prosperous than ever. Labor was everywhere fully em-

ployed, giving increase to the purchasing power of the people never before known. There was not a tramp in all the land. A few years before the country was full of them. People fed them and pitied them. Many, of course, they knew were undeserving and criminals, but they also knew there were thousands upon thousands who were deserving, and who could not possibly find work, but must tramp and beg. And who could tell the unfortunate and deserving from the professional road agent? None! So people fed them all, rather than refuse one who might be in need of help and aid. Now the people knew that no deserving man need tramp or be idle. They were all at work, and the professional could no longer impose on the people. Tramps were no longer tolerated or allowed to roam the country. They disappeared entirely.

The demand for factory-made goods had never been so large as now. Every establishment was running at its full capacity, and yet they could not supply the demand, even at increased prices, which the people soon found they had to pay. This was the situation in the United States within a year after the assembling of the Constitutional Convention. These were the conditions in 1902, when war was daily expected because the people proposed to vote on another amendment that that Convention had proposed.

But this was not the condition in any foreign country. Foreign immigration had been entirely prohibited by Congress in April, 1901, for the period of ten years, and labor was thus more greatly depressed in all foreign countries than ever before, and labor troubles were be-

coming daily more aggravated and alarming. Instead of trying to dictate a policy for, and govern, our country, our people said that England had better demonstrate her ability to properly govern herself.

The prevailing condition abroad caused the glowing accounts of things in the United States to be eagerly listened to the world over. It was reported everywhere, in every country, that millions of acres of the Government-irrigated arid lands were to be opened to free settlement. Government lands always had been open for free settlement until all were gone, but now a new domain was to be opened up by irrigation that would be a veritable garden of Eden, and greater in extent than England, Germany, and France combined. Indeed, the downtrodden and pauperized foreign poor looked with longing, eager eyes upon the rich and bountiful feast, but oh! it was beyond their reach. All the ports and borders had to be closely guarded, and men were constantly arrested for evading the immigration laws. It was found that some of the British soldiers quartered in Canada were deserting and coming to this country. They were arrested and taken before the United States War Department, and all information possible obtained. It was decided to detain them as prisoners of war, but to give them every privilege possible. It was not thought best to send them back to increase the army of the enemy. During the early summer more than a thousand such prisoners were retained by the United States Government. There was some talk among our army officers of making these men citizens of the country by special act. This report got out and greatly increased desertions.

England, in the meantime, had landed many more troops in Canada, and a declaration of war was barely defeated by Parliament in June, 1902. It also came up in the German Reichstag, but fared worse there. In every country in Europe there was talk among the nobility of war with the United States in case the amendment was carried.

If it did pass, what good would war do them? All they could hope for was; by whipping the United States, to get indemnity for property owned by the citizens of the victorious countries. This was not what the money kings wanted. They saw, if the amendment was approved, and the United States Government was successful in putting it into operation, the demand for the same thing would sweep over the whole world, and a similar revolution would follow in every country where the people had any rights looking towards self-government. This was what they feared, and this the American plutocrats kept, it was afterwards learned, constantly dinning into the ears of their foreign cousins. Every millionaire wanted war declared at once, hoping it would defeat the amendment, notwithstanding the fact that simply landing troops in Canada had been a bad move, and the further fact that the United States was making extensive preparations for war. They were simply desperate. "What good to go to war after it is all over?" and "Lock the barn after the horse is stolen," they said in their secret meetings. It is now known that they were constantly advising the "powers that be" in the English Government.

A secret meeting of over fifty of the money kings was

held in New York in July, 1902, and they practically agreed that the proper thing to do was for England to declare war at once (for after the amendment passed it would be useless) and concentrate all the troops she could arm in Canada, yet not make unequal war by land, but bombard and destroy a few Southern cities, especially Savannah. - "South Carolina has always been a hotbed of secession. She is now keeping in the Senate that anarchist of a Tillman, who has done more than any other man to sow the first seed of discontent and agrarianism that is now rampant in the land."

Think of it! These men who met behind closed doors, and in secret advised the making of war on their own country by a foreign power, wanted to punish, first, the people who had once been in rebellion. "O Constancy, thou art a jewel!"

This was their excuse; but, in fact, they wanted Southern cities destroyed because they, or the class they represented, owned a large majority of the property in every Northern city. The English Government would no quicker think of firing on New York city, or, for that matter, on any other Northern port of importance, than of bombarding London. They were largely owned by English capitalists, or their bonds were held by Englishmen.

This matter was much discussed among the people of America; whether the opinion was erroneous or not, it soon became generally believed that we were quite secure and had little to fear from naval forces.

This meeting, secret as it was, became known to the ruling forces of Europe. It had to be, because it was

held for the purpose of influencing the English Parliament, and would be futile in that respect unless made known. That meeting was the direct cause of the English Parliament again calling the matter up and voting to declare war against the United States.

The declaration stated that "Any Nation that so seriously contemplates violation of its contracts and the repudiation of its sacred obligations deserves to be punished, even if it does not consummate its scheme," and further declared that "hostilities shall cease and friendly relations be resumed as soon as it becomes known that the amendment to its Constitution, now agitating the American people, is defeated, and the world again learns that the United States still have regard for their obligations and the obligations of their subjects, and are not going to drift into agrarianism further than that pernicious doctrine is now engrafted into her Government." But if the measure did carry, a war of extermination was to be waged "until agrarianism and communism are blotted off the earth, and the laws of God and of nature, with its ennobling stimulant of free competition and the right to be freemen, are too firmly established to ever again be in danger of being uprooted." It ought, instead, to have said "Until the right to make all the common people slaves, and entirely stifle competition by trusts, is acknowledged as the supreme law of the world." This would more accurately have portrayed their aims and designs, but evildoers always sail under false colors, and this case was no exception.

To get the declaration of war through the English Parliament required much work and open talk concern-

ing the secret meeting in New York. "Have not these men always ruled America? Should we not follow their advice and opinions in this matter? They employ millions of men in America, every one of whom is ready to follow their leadership," said the advocates of war. The plutocrats, in their desperation to get the matter through Parliament, seemed to forget that the men who were advising them to make war were a little band of traitors, who had met and connived in the dark, under the shield of secrecy, but almost treated the meeting as the act of a deliberative assembly, representing the Government of the United States itself. There were men in Parliament who were not only opposed to war, but in sympathy with the movement in America, and would have been glad to have had the same thing take place in England. There were, in truth, many of them who were noble representatives of the great producing classes. The extent of their feelings, however, was not well known and they took it upon themselves to get the exact and positive proof of this meeting in all its details, who were there and what was said.

The boldness with which the meeting was talked about made it easy indeed. Some claimed it did not represent the American people and called for the proof; others, apparently holding out the inducement of supporting the measure "If it represented the sentiment of the American leaders," were enabled to get a full, complete, and authentic report of the whole affair, even to a few very important details of the operations they proposed after war was declared, all of which was carefully folded away among the effects of J. Keir Hardie, a great

English labor leader at that time, and afterwards a foremost leader in the revolution. Mr. Hardie at once took passage for America, before the resolution actually declaring war was passed, and in fact had arrived on American soil by the time the news of the declaration of war reached America. He came as a sort of secret envoy of the friends of humanity in the English Parliament, duly accredited by them to the United States Government. His well-known worth and high character were passports enough. It should be said here that in answer to the opposition, in the English Parliament, as they spoke of the terrors of war with modern implements of death and destruction, one representative—a plutocratic lord—said: "It is all the better. The trouble is, there are too many people on this earth. The greater the slaughter in this war, the greater will be the benefits to the world. The poor laborer, for whom my heart bleeds, has too much competition, too many to seek his job. Take away this surplus of laborers, and you confer untold blessings upon him."

As I picture his lordship in my mind's eye, delivering the speech in defense of war, of which the above is a part—in all his pomposity and feigned knowledge—I fancy I can see Satanic horns pushing through his wig and a cloven hoof beneath his gown, although is encircled a forked tail. He claimed, however, a follower of the lowly Jesus of Nazareth, so I am in doubt mistaken about his having those appendages.

The second week after England's action was known Congress declared that war existed between our Government and England. The President called for 250,000

of the troops that had been drilled to report at Detroit, Buffalo, and cities along the Canadian line. The whole number were under arms within ten days. There were not to exceed 200,000 English troops quartered in Canada.

J. Keir Hardie saw Congress act and the troops massing before he could get an audience with the President. No one but his trusted friends in the English Parliament knew his mission here, or even that he had left England, and the very day following his first visit with the President big English warships were patrolling the harbors of New York and Boston. Their meetings were now long and frequent, and plans entirely unknown, except by the principal actors, were fully laid and agreed upon.

During their last meeting Mr. Hardie said to the President: "I don't like, even under the present miserable and ignoble system of law that prevails, to be by that law declared a traitor to my country. But when I find myself in Hell. a coerced soldier of the devil, I will desert and join the other army if I can; and if by still flying the Satanic flag I can better serve my new master, I would say, let it still wave. I understand that failure in what I am about to undertake, or being taken a prisoner by my Government, means death; that I would be at once executed as a traitor. But for the sake of suffering humanity I will risk it. You know who some of your traitors are now; and if you are the President I think you are, if you have the Jacksonian qualities your friends claim you have, you will arrest, try, and hang every one of them long before another month passes."

To this the President made no response.

"I shall," Mr. Hardie continued, "take those two ships before Boston and New York by strategy, and will soon bring the entire English navy now following the Atlantic up the Potomac and tie it to Washington monument. So help me God, I will!"

CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. Hardie was given five hundred men from the American navy, and they were crowded into a little craft in New York in the dead of night, entirely unnoticed and unseen. None but the officers knew their mission. When aboard and steaming out to sea the whole matter was explained to them in a few minutes, and they became an enthusiastic crew indeed. They flushed for fight, and felt victory in the air. It was on the night of August 20, 1902. When well out on the deep, and, as they believed, in the neighborhood of where the big English warship had been sighted the day before—the vessel that had been patrolling the harbor of New York city and creating consternation among the inhabitants—the rays of a strong searchlight were flashed straight overhead into the heavens. This was to be the signal of the American plutocrats if at any time they should want to communicate with the English warships before the American harbors concerning the doings of the American Government or anything else. This was information which J. Keir Hardie had gained in England, and which would, as he believed, be of value and importance to the American Government.

They had given the signal. Was it right? They looked and watched for the answer. Had their signs been changed, or was not the big warship within the

radius at which she could sight the signal? They were anxious moments for Mr. Hardie, as he scanned the darkness, first in one direction, then in another. The signal was renewed and left standing, as the little craft continued steaming out to sea. Soon, away off to the southeast, appeared the answer. The watchman on the big ship had seen the flash of the searchlight and had given the answering signal, and the little craft steamed off towards her with every sailor on board in high hopes.

All the men except the watchman and enough to man the great vessel as she lay at anchor were in slumber. The proper signal had been given; the commander supposed the money kings, England's American friends, as he called them, desired to communicate with him. They were expected to come in the night, because it would be unsafe to be seen communicating with the enemy. The little craft drew up alongside the massive ironclad while not one in fifty of her crew know that a boat was near. The commander was not going to arouse all his common sailors to receive such distinguished visitors as he supposed he was about to entertain! He himself was almost wholly unarmed. There were not a half-dozen subordinates with him as he came and looked over the side of his ship upon the little boat bobbing around on the waves below.

They threw the rope ladder down for them to climb up on the deck. Surprised, indeed, was the commander when the first dozen men to come on deck leveled revolvers at every man in sight. Instantly the whole deck was crowded with a swarm of sailors, and the Britishers' eyes were fairly dazzled by the flash of shining weapons

in the dim light. They could not understand it. After it was over the commander said the first thought that occurred to him was that it was a joke, and when the men came rushing on deck he thought it must be his friends bringing some recruits to join the English navy. But he soon awoke to the fact that the proud ship of which he was commander, the best in all the English navy, was a captive of the enemy. The proud old vessel, taken by strategy, without ever firing a gun, and while her men were asleep!—this was the result of his own stupidity.

It was an easy victory. The sailors and every man in sight surrendered without even firing a single pistol shot. Then the captors went about to awaken, disarm, and pinion one sleeping Englishman after another and tell them they were prisoners; that the first naval engagement of the war had taken place and resulted in victory for the Americans; and that one more warship was to be added to our navy.

The commander fairly succumbed in utter despair. He was beaten and disgraced and made a captive of war before he had even heard the roar of his own guns in battle. He took it as philosophically as possible, however. He wanted to immediately pull down the old English flag, steam into New York with the stars and stripes flying at her masthead, cable the news of his disgrace to the queen, and be lodged in prison.

But this was not the plan of J. Keir Hardie. He engaged him in conversation and gained some information as to the number of English warships that would soon be hovering like ghosts of evil omen along the American coast.

Mr. Hardie said: "You say you thought we were recruits that your rich allies were bringing to you?"

"Yes," said the commander, "I thought those men, who know nothing of naval affairs, were just foolish enough to suppose I could use more marines, or perhaps needed them. At any rate, that was the first thought that entered my mind."

"That never occurred to me," replied Mr. Hardie to himself. "I guess we will try that ruse on the fellows before Boston harbor."

The commander noticed that they did not pull down the flag, nor make any move towards returning to New York. His eyes opened with new surprise as the thought dawned upon him. "My God!" said he, throwing his hands up in despair and almost fainting, "is the whole English navy to be thus taken? Is the proudest navy in all the world, the ruler of the seas, to be led captive into the enemy's ports by a ruse, and without even firing a gun? The efforts of those foolish men to make perfect plans, as they claimed (but I believe only to effect their escape, if necessary, from their country by searchlight signals), have ruined all."

Yet he in nowise meant to shift the blame of his own carelessness. In his agony and despair he almost threw himself into the sea. He saw his ship—of whose course he no longer had aught to say—steam to the East, away from New York, with the English flag still flying. He was told by his captor that he would not be taken to New York, and it might be some time before his Government would know of the big ship's capture.

Fully realizing the situation, he gasped: "Oh! My

God! If I could but communicate with my Government. Can this be possible? The grandest kingdom in all the world and in all ages knows not how insecure is its foundation at this minute. But," he continued, "you are not going to let the old flag still fly? Why, you are an Englishman. Will you violate every rule of civilized warfare, betray your country, and use her very flag to tear her down?"

His countryman and his captor, J. Keir Hardie, turned on him and said, his voice trembling with emotion: "For whom are you fighting? A country? No! Only a privileged few, who would grind your country to dust and reduce every person in it to slavery. You stand not for your country, but for a privileged class, who have well-nigh ruined it. I, sir, am commissioned by the unheard and unheeded voices of twenty-five million Englishmen, who, by their toil and labor, have made that country all that it is, and yet they own not one square foot of its soil. They have made that flag"—and he pointed to it flying from the masthead—"all that it stands for, and the only reason it does not stand for more and grander things is because of the load the plutocrats for whom you plead have placed upon their backs.

"Who has a better right to float that flag? I'll stake my all, my life, that my acts will be approved by the people who commissioned me, and who, as Englishmen in England, will soon forever direct the course of that flag."

With these words Mr. Hardie left the late commander in the charge of a guard, of whom the latter at once inquired who his captor was, and being informed said: "All he says is true. I know J. Keir Hardie, and one-

half the men on this very ship will follow his leadership and approve his acts. Socialism, for which he stands, at least in a mild form, will yet rule the world. I have never believed in it. But the events soon to take place will be as interesting history as any through which the world has passed."

The big ship steamed off towards Boston harbor, towing the little boat behind.

The whole country was wild with excitement as soon as the war ships appeared before New York and Boston. Of course, many kept saying: "They never will f[illegible]on those cities." But many began to think and [illegible]tly say: "We have carried this thing a little too far. The changes now made have brought great prosperity to the country. Why not let well enough alone and keep out of war? The amendment means Socialism, anyway."

The plutocrats noticed all this with much satisfaction. It was exactly the view which they had prophesied the people would take when they began to face the stern realities of war. And they had argued in their secret meetings just as the people now did, that times had never been so good for the common people as during the past year. They said: "The people will decide to let well enough alone rather than have war," and, again, "these prosperous times are making many little fellows, petty financiers, think they can become millionaires themselves."

On the morning of August 21, 1902, the news was flashed into every hamlet in the United States that the big boat had left New York harbor. How many men notified their friends that they had said that New York

never would be fired upon. "Do you suppose England would fire upon London? She would as quick as on New York," they again said. In the afternoon, the ship being sighted off the east end of Long Island, the news was again flashed across the country: "She is making for Boston!" Again the talk changed.

Boston trembled. "The bombardment of Boston" was on every tongue. Excitement knew no bounds. The condemnation of the administration for not giving battle before the English fleet was concentrated was intense. Before land was sighted on August 21 the little bark was taken out of tow and started ahead on her way towards Boston, about one-half of her crew being left in charge of the big ship to follow on, which, before reaching Boston harbor, but not until away from the sight of land, dropped anchor. Under cover of darkness the little ship, keeping close to land, entered the harbor, and then made directly out to sea. When out at what was believed to be the proper distance by the reports of where the big boat had been seen she gave the signal, as before, and in due time received the return signal, and then proceeded directly towards it. The signals were renewed and answered, and soon the litle boat steamed up right under the bow of the sleeping monster, for sleeping she was; there was hardly a stir on board. The commander had to be aroused from his bed, as he supposed, to wait upon the equals of crowned heads. He was not surprised to first greet one of his own countrymen, who announced that distinguished persons, who were below, had very important information to make known, and also that a few recruits had been brought along. He was surprised, but

of course too civil to say he needed none, and invited them aboard. But while he was speaking he thought they appeared to be impudently coming without invitation. The rest was acted quickly, and he soon found himself a prisoner of war, and the ship, which he fairly worshiped, the enemy's plunder. The circumstances were little different from the night before. The sailors again proceeded to awaken sleeping Englishmen and notify them what had taken place and of the fact that they were prisoners of war, as the searching they underwent and the shackles they were compelled to don soon proved.

The commander, in his chagrin, acted about the same as the other one did on the previous night. He of course expected to steam into Boston at once, and to have the news cabled to England and heralded around the world. J. Keir Hardie again elicited what information he could as to the further maneuvers of the English fleet, but he was bound that no man on land should know what had taken place, and certainly not the English Government. So he took just one trusty messenger, and with the little craft, now manned with a quarter crew, landed him in the dead of night on the wharfs of Boston. He had a message to the President in Washington, but his lips were sealed.

Mr. Hardie returned to the big captive, which was under strong guard, consisting of nearly the whole of the little craft's crew who had not been left in charge of the other ship. The little bark, having done its work, was scuttled and sent to the bottom of the sea, and in the early dawn of August 22, 1902, the two big battle ships

were seen from the East Long Island lighthouse steaming southward. They were still flying the British flag, and not a soul on terra firma knew what had taken place but the one solitary messenger, who was speeding away from Boston to Washington to deliver his message to the President of the Republic.

One difficulty that confronted J. Keir Hardie was much greater than he had anticipated, and in that respect he had to now modify his plans. To get American sailors to man a British warship floating the English flag was indeed a momentous undertaking. It could not be done. Even though it was now the plunder of war, an American ship, battling for humanity and the rights of Americans, made no difference—the stars and stripes should and did float at the mastheads of the two big ships.

The excitement as the news of the big ships going south was flashed across the country may better be imagined than described. It confirmed the general opinion that the Northern cities, which largely secured English bonds, were safe, and that the South was to suffer. Boston awoke a happy city, yet full of sympathy for her Southern sisters. The people of the Southern seaports were thrown into hysterics. The doom of their cities, they feared, was sealed, and many were well-nigh depopulated.

The administration was again bitterly assailed, "Have we got a navy?" was on every tongue. "Why is this? Why is the entire English fleet to be allowed to concentrate before we give battle?" They did not know that no American boat could get near enough to give them

battle; that they could not run fast enough, with the start the Britishers would have, to overtake them; that they never were sent out to give battle. If they had been they would not have come separate and alone. They were sent out to do just what they were doing with amazing success—to frighten the American people, and by making them believe that to vote for the amendment meant war, war eternal, war to the death, and thus defeat its passage. This was the view of the English Government and of the American plutocrats, and it was for this that they had instigated and effected the declaration of war. They did not want much war, but they did want no end of threats, a great flourish of arms, and immense preparation. This, they felt, with the general prosperous condition of the country, would defeat the amendment, that it would make the people say "Let well enough alone and keep out of war."

The two big ships unwisely let themselves be faintly seen off the New Jersey and Delaware coasts. As stated, the turmoil into which the entire Nation was thrown was simply indescribable. The people had for years heard so much of the terrors of the great battle ships that they felt much as if the very planets of Heaven had left their orbits and were charging on our little world. The ardor over passing the amendment, it must be confessed, considerably cooled, when the people remembered that to vote it down would hush the guns of England and call off her war dogs. They did not want protracted war with modern instruments of battle, and who could blame them?

The plutocrats noted the sentiment of a few days'

growth only. They gleaned these mushroom opinions of the people and said to each other: "What wise men we are. We understand how to control this coming election and defeat that pernicious amendment that strikes at the very rights of man and the liberties of the better classes. We were mistaken as to the effect of landing troops in Canada, but not in naval operations." But another would say: "What means the strange behavior of those warships? The British Government never ordered such maneuvering as they are doing. It is contemptible for commanders to so disregard the orders of their superiors. Those men will both be court-martialed." But they knew not what had occurred, and never dreamed that aught had happened to their cause.

The second day after the big ships had started South and disappeared from before Boston, three of our largest battle ships steamed out of Chesapeake Bay, bearing nearly double crews, and still another lay anchored at Annapolis.

Men, women and children sat up all night in every city and hamlet in the vain hope that they might glean some news. They thought the greatest naval battle in the history of the world was about to be fought—a battle compared to which all others in the past sank into utter insignificance. And again the cry was raised: "Why send double crews and leave a battle ship at anchor? Why is not every boat in the Government's service sent to sea? Oh, my God! such management!" "The President may be a great orator," even his friends said, "but oh, what a commander of armies and naval forces! Why send double crews? Why have a battle ship at anchor?

The extra vessel, however, soon followed, only a few hours behind the rest, but without a crew to man her guns. The people were desperate. They could hardly control their angry tongues and listen for the sounds of battle which they expected to soon rumble o'er the sea. They waited and listened, but no sound came. Save a few salutes, the sound of a single gun was never heard on shore. The story cannot half be told. The files of the great dailies for the last of August, 1902, chronicle the most exciting period of our country's history.

The people supposed that those United States ships went out to make battle. If they did, there was much that ordinary mortals could criticise. The sailors themselves thought that was what they were going to sea for—to meet the two big ships—and many, some with tears suppressed, others with them trickling down their cheeks, took a long look at the shore fading away in the horizon as they proceeded out to sea.

The people waited for the rumbling of the battle. The news was flashed across the country: "Not a sound has yet been heard." The same message kept the wires hot for hours, and as soon as it would cease the query came from every hamlet: "Do you hear it yet?" But not one sound was heard. The gray-haired sires said, plaintively: "They have gone out to sea beyond our reach of the voices of their guns, where no one will be disturbed by the roar of the battle but the deep sea monsters, for which American sailor boys probably are now food. Our ships have gone to the bottom of the sea or are being towed as plunder off to British ports."

The next day the last of our battle ships to leave was

sighted returning to port. She steamed up to Annapolis, but before she reached there the news was known to everybody. The chief officers of the army were there from Washington. She certainly returned with a crew. She went without one. She came back without a battle scar. Had there been a battle? Where did she get her crew? And it was reported she had much more than a crew. That was the only germ of consolation, but the truth of it was so uncertain. She never came to the wharf. A little boat took an army officer out to where she was anchored in the bay. Not one syllable of what had occurred could be learned. It was all a deep-veiled mystery to the people. That night she again put to sea, and it was known that a big Atlantic liner followed her out. The mystery deepened. The people did not know it, but she was going out to have the English prisoners, who had been brought in from the two big English battle ships, transferred in the middle of the night, away down the bay. The transfer was made, and the big battle ships again steamed out to sea. The Atlantic liner went on to Washington. But, for fear the news of what had happened to the two big ships would become known, and eventually reach the British government, not a prisoner, or hardly a person, was landed; all were kept on the vessel, which for many days lay anchored well out in the harbor, and guarded as no prison ever had been guarded before. It was some time before the general public knew that this was the vessel that had started out to sea. Then some said it had returned, having deemed it unsafe to proceed. After it had been there two weeks or more a Washington correspondent discovered that the crew were

terrible eaters for idle men. He knew no more than that a considerable amount of provisions was being taken aboard; on learning this he notified the World that the vessel in Washington was filled with English prisoners of war. However, he could give no proof. The public knew it was only his guess, and placed little, if any, reliance upon it, no matter how much he elaborated on the affair, or how well satisfied he was of the matter.

Every United States warship in every Atlantic harbor was ordered to rendezvous off Chesapeake Bay. The people knew this and nothing more. For days the excitement continued unabated. The suspense and waiting was terrible, and when the fierce roar of battle, the long-looked-for sound, was finally heard off Cape Hatteras it was indescribable.

All was mystery, except the fact that a battle was raging. The tears of mothers whose sons, of wives whose husbands, of sisters whose brothers were on the sea, were never dry. The English Government was as much mystified as were the American people. The commanders of her warships were waging war contrary to the orders of the Government, and apparently according to their own sweet will—something that never before had occurred in the English navy. They hoped it was justifiable on this occasion, but they longed for knowledge of why it was.

While the naval operations were veiled in impenetrable mystery, the country also had other matters to claim its deepest interest and further stimulate the unbounded excitement of the people. The United States army, over two hundred and fifty thousand strong, was taking pos-

session of Canada, where the people openly welcomed the boys in blue. Their sympathies were wholly on the side of the Americans in the contest. But many of our troops were depressed and disheartened as they were being brought face to face with the stern realities of deadly war. In their imagination they heard the whistle of bullets, the booming of mighty cannon, the rattle of the artillery; they saw brothers fall beside them and lie unattended, cold in death; they, themselves, perhaps, were carried from the battlefield on litters—or even worse, their last cry unheard and unheeded, they were left to suffer the pain of mortal wounds among the dying and the dead, with the battle raging all about them, with, perhaps, the cavalry charging over their maimed and mutilated bodies.

Such pictures floated like phantoms before their eyes. Then their minds would revert to home in all its details; to the old house, the barns, its yards and lawns and walks; to the trees and shrubbery; to the very chipper of the birds and all the surroundings that go to complete the picture of the old homestead in which they were born and raised to manhood. And this picture, enough to melt hearts of stone, like the mirage to the lost wanderer in the desert, was floating on every cloud above the horizon. They thought of loved ones whose hearts they knew were bleeding for them; of mother, wife, sister, father, and all that makes home dear, and whose loving voices they might never hear again. Amid these thoughts how terrible is war! How terrible indeed, with all the horrible engines of death with which it was then waged. Yet to think such thoughts was not cowardice. They

knew their danger and still they faced it. Wellington once, seeing a man turn pale as he pressed on in a charge, said: "There goes a brave man. He knows his danger, yet he faces it." It required the bravest of men to be soldiers at that time, when to be a soldier almost certainly meant to be a sacrifice. But they thought of the cause they were upholding, of the evils of the social condition they were trying to forever overthrow—even greater than war. It was to prevent the recurrence of those conditions that they were called upon to fight. Nobler impulses never prompted men to face danger and death. It was the cause of humanity, the standard of true civilization which they were upholding.

The same thoughts of home and friends that were passing through the mind of the American soldier were pressing on his British antagonist. He was human. He, too, thought of home, and likewise pictured the horrors of war. And he remembered how, a century before, when America was but the seed of a nation, she had twice vanquished England. He also thought of the cause for which he fought. It was no cause, unless it was the cause of slavery he was trying to enthrone forever. He knew it. He was about to battle for the plutocrats who had bled the English people during all these centuries. He had nothing in common with them. His government was calling on her subjects to stand up and face death in order to collect the bonds of millionaires, not one of whom was in the service, but who were safe from harm, enjoying their pleasures in their grand palaces, built by toiling, bleeding Englishmen, "and I, a common soldier," he said, "am bivouacked on the bleak

hills of Canada, with no covering over my sleeping head but the dark, cold canopy of heaven."

What was there to stimulate him in the fight? Nothing; nay, nothing. He had read much and understood well the changes which the revolution was making in America, and his only wish was that he could be a subject of this country and entitled to the privileges which, as a citizen, he might enjoy; but citizenship was denied him under the laws of the United States.

These were the thoughts of the men who composed the opposing armies, five hundred thousand strong, as they awaited the bugle call to battle. In a few days would the pretty valley that lay between these two mighty forces be a war cemetery, thickly studded with plain slabs marked "Unknown"? How many of these sterling men would forever rest there? Not so many, let us hope, as they had good reason to believe.

As the two armies lay facing each other, and the rumbling of the naval battle was echoed off Hatteras, another matter of far-reaching importance was about to occur—one which proved a most complete surprise to the people of America. It was the arrest on the charge of treason of practically every man who had taken part in the secret meeting, of which J. Keir Hardie brought a complete report, together with many others who had been guilty of like conduct, of aiding the enemies of the country.

These men were all tried by court-martial, and in the surprisingly short time of twenty days, and before the armies had yet clashed, every one had paid the death penalty, the usual punishment for the crime of which

they were all found guilty beyond the cavil of a doubt. Their arrest, trial, and execution has long been history. If it had not happened in the heat of war, on the eve of what was supposed would be a great and decisive battle, they would probably not have paid the penalty of death for their crime. If the war had been over, as when Jefferson Davis was captured, the result would probably have been different. But their trial was on while the two great armies of which we have just spoken lay facing each other; and when the people knew these men were the prime movers in that dastardly affair, that they had by their advice and council caused England to declare war, public sentiment would tolerate a no lesser sentence. A different one meant mob violence. "It is the penalty the law provides; the law must be executed; these men shall not go unwhipped of justice," the people said.

Imagine the feeling against these men of the wives and mothers whose husbands and sons were about to be offered up as a sacrifice of war, all because of their cruel instigation, and you know the feelings and sentiment of the country. It cannot be described. No language can portray it. It can only be pictured by the imagination of the mind.

The conduct of these men at the different stages of the affair, from their arrest until they were finally blindfolded and pinioned to be shot (which was the method of execution), was surprising to many. They had expected to see them who, but a few years before, had been the foremost men of the country, stand together in their difficulty. They had seen or knew of bandits ready to die for a fellow outlaw, and they expected as much from

these men. But the old saying, "There is honor among thieves," was not exemplified in their cases. A cruel selfishness manifested itself in every one of them. It seemed there was not one who would not have sacrificed all the rest to save himself.

The men who had foisted all the misery upon the world that these men had, in order to gratify their every whim and pleasure, could not have had a different nature. If the Government had lacked the necessary proof for conviction it could easily have obtained it from among the number, as they were ready informers in their efforts to shift the blame on others, clear their own skirts, and save their own lives.

From their sayings one would take them for the staunchest friends of the common people, true reformers, only so far in life they had been theorizing, studying, and planning as to the best methods, and they had now just about accumulated enough to begin the execution of their plans. "You know it always takes means to effect reforms," one said. "What? I have given ten million dollars in endowments and charities; am I not a friend of the people? Am I to be executed as a common enemy of my country?"

Charity! It was not what the people had wanted all these many years; it was justice, plain, simple justice. Which was the better man—this one who robbed the poor and gave to the rich or well-to-do, or Robin Hood, who robbed the rich and gave to the poor?

One of the number sought executive clemency because of the very high position he had occupied in the councils of the Nation, and he set out at great length his record

as a "friend of the downtrodden and the poor" in a message to the President, who presented it at a Cabinet meeting, that he might gain opinions as to what should be done. After reading the long message Mr. Bryan laid it down, and in all the fervor of an address said: "O shade of Ananias, come, give up the pennant, it is no longer yours; for when likened to this prince of liars thou art an amateur." Although it was a secret meeting, the remarks made therein got into print, and have lived along with Mr. Bryan's many bright sayings. The petition was not granted.

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It took longer than J. Keir Hardie had said, but the trial of the traitorous fifty, the most wonderful trial in the history of the world, was scarcely over, and the sentence put into execution, when, true to his word, the English navy, that had been plowing the Atlantic to frighten and intimidate the people, was escorted up the Potomac ready "to tie to Washington monument." The hilarity of the people knew no bounds. They could hardly believe their senses when the whole story of the capture of the first two ships and the subsequent conduct of the campaign was told. The history of the capture of these warships would, of itself, make a long and interesting story, but we must content ourselves with a short description of that great naval campaign.

The commanders of the American fleet well knew the methods that would be pursued by the English, even if they had gained no information from Mr. Hardie, which they had. Their plan, as already explained, was to make all the show and pretension possible, but to have no fight-

ing that could be avoided. The only reason for the declaration of war was to frighten the American people into voting down the amendment to the Constitution that would confiscate nearly all the property, from a comparative standpoint, of American millionaires—for what did a paltry half-million exemption amount to?—a good portion of English capital held in America, and, if successfully put into operation, cause the same thing to be inaugurated in other nations until the reign of millionaires would be entirely overthrown and their property turned over to their respective governments.

Knowing the plan was not to make war in fact, but to scare the people with the threat of it, they understood that the English fleet would be scattered along the entire coasts, the ships hovering singly or in pairs before every port of importance.

That the English were correct in believing this was the best way to defeat the amendment is shown by the consternation in New York and Boston on the appearance of the two big warships before their harbors. A dozen ships or a whole fleet could not have created a greater commotion or more of a subsidence of the enthusiasm for the adoption of the amendment, because the people had long been educated to believe, and correctly, that a single vessel could demolish a city in a short time.

And while knowing the English warships would thus be found, they also knew they would not stand fight on the appearance of the American boats. Of course it would be foolish for one or two to give battle to a whole fleet, hence they must be corralled, entrapped like rabbits, or, like fox-hunting parties, surround their prey.

The fox-hunting plan was in fact the one adopted by the Americans. Their fleet started South along the Atlantic coast, with three big warships abreast, but so far distant from each other that the two outside could not signal the other, but could see only the one in the middle. The rest of the fleet trailed in equal portions behind the big ships, but again so far behind that they could just signal their leaders. This was so arranged that if any one of the leaders sighted an English warship, the English ship could not see the troop in the rear because of the great distance between them. They would not be at all likely to see more than one of the leaders, because of their distance from each other. The plan was, as soon as one of them sighted a warship, to signal the other two, or, if it was one at the side, to signal the one in the middle, which, in turn, was to signal the one next to it, and each one to signal the troop in their rear. Their signal system was so perfect that they could even give about the location of the boat they desired to capture. Then the ship first sighting would shift its course and go around the prey, always keeping just in sight of it. All the rest would follow in line, one by one, but keeping still farther at sea, out of sight of the English ship. When the one that was leading, and had first scented the prey, had passed by or around it, it again signaled the ship in its rear, and the signals were passed along the line, which now formed a half-circle with land for the other half around an unconsciously imprisoned ship. Then they all shifted their course and steamed for the center, and soon came swooping down upon the unsuspecting enemy, which was sometimes one or again two big English war-

ships. They found themselves completely entrapped, like the fox when it could look in no direction and not face a hunter.

This was the mode of campaigning, and a half-dozen or more big vessels were in this manner entrapped—vessels which had been sent out to patrol our coasts like ghosts in the night time, frightening the wits out of our people, but with distinct and positive orders not to bombard English securities (American cities) nor fight the American fleet, but run at least until the English fleet was concentrated.

Most of them, finding themselves entrapped, surrendered without trouble, and saw their crews made prisoners of war and distributed among the American fleet, their ships manned by American sailors, the Stars and Stripes nailed to the mastheads, and started on to sea to aid in the capture of more English ships. Two vessels off Hatteras fought some; their Johnny Bull blood would not admit of surrender without a fight, no matter how hopelessly one-sided it was. This was the battle the people heard, and which caused so much excitement; and when two weeks had passed after hearing the rumblings of the battle, before they came plowing up the Potomac, it would seem they had good grounds to have fears for the results. However, they saw fewer and fewer ghostly warships appearing before their harbors. The big trial kept up excitement, and they tried patiently to await the unveiling of the mysteries of the naval war.

Bermuda Islands was then a British province, and one of the largest coaling stations in the world. It was soon found that this place, which is only about 600 miles from

the North Carolina shore, was the English naval rendezvous. In fact, it was well known from the beginning that it must be, and soon our fleet left the open sea and simply proceeded to that point in full force, with all the English accessions, cut the cable and gathered in the balance of the English warships as they came in for coal. Of course there was some sharp fighting, but it was a comparatively easy task after all.

The consternation in England, on hearing the news of the capture of its fleet immediately following the trial, conviction, and execution of its "fifty friends" in America, was indescribable. The query was: "What will become of our land campaign now without a ship to carry another recruit or a single ration to those already there?" They perfectly well knew that the entire American fleet, with a large portion of what had but yesterday been their own, would be guarding the mouth of the St. Lowrence river and every harbor thereabouts on the coasts of the British possessions. To pass such a gauntlet would be impossible. It was useless to try.

The war was already over, so far as aggression on the part of England was concerned. England, the proud ruler of the seas, must capitulate on whatever terms the United States Government saw fit to impose. There was, indeed, no little worry about what those terms would be. It might be the freeing of the English people, as the Americans were about to be freed, or, as the English nabobs had it, "the confiscation of English property also." Certainly J. Keir Hardie, who had done more than anyone else to give America the great victory she had just gained, would insist on this. "How much of

a power will he be? Is this only an American, or is it destined to be a world-wide, revolution?" English millionaires quaked.

It seemed the naval victory was to be followed by vigorous action on the part of the land forces. A hundred thousand reinforcements had been ordered to the front. The English army was being besieged on all sides. It was plain to be seen from the first that it was only a question of how long the English army's rations would last. She never would have landed troops in Canada if she had known or thought the United States would have also occupied the country with an army, and have become the attacking party. She supposed the United States would make no move as long as her troops were kept in her own province. It was strange she could not do that. She had sent most of the troops before war was declared, and the only idea was to frighten the people into voting down the amendment by preparation for war, and not by war in fact. She wanted no war, and knew that with land forces she was entirely unable to cope with the United States; and as to things getting into the situation in which she now found them, why, she never thought of that. Losing her navy! She never dreamed of such a thing. But whatever she had thought, or however badly she had miscalculated, it was evident she was now going to lose an army also. It was surrounded by another army of mighty proportions, and one that still was rapidly growing.

The news of the loss of the navy completely demoralized the English army, even if it was not demoralized before. From the first it had no spirit in the fight; and

how could they, with no interest in common with the principle for which the war was waged? Desiring to spare as many lives as possible, the American army did not further assume the aggressive, but continued to lie on its arms, strengthen its entrenchments, and await results. It was plain this would have the same ultimate effect as an immediate attack with bloody battles and useless loss of life to both armies. For four weeks after the naval campaign the situation remained unchanged.

During this time there was much discussion in Congress about what should be done with the prisoners of war, as it was apparent there would soon be some. The Radicals were set on carrying the movement or reforms beyond the confines of the United States; that is, they desired to so shape matters that the reform measures they were championing would be taken up and carried into effect in as many countries as possible, and they thought the more they could cripple England, and at the same time effect a brotherly feeling on the part of the common people of the world towards the United States Government, the better it would be for the final spreading of the doctrines. At any rate, with that view of matters, after mature deliberation and to the consternation of the English Government, a law was passed making a court consisting of the chief United States army officers, with power to grant citizenship to all prisoners who desired, if they were of good moral character, and in the opinion of the court would make good citizens. And it was also provided by the laws that the families of all those becoming citizens were also entitled to citizenship on application.

The English charged that this was a cowardly bribe to stimulate desertion and effect the surrender of the whole English army without the risk of a battle. But this was not tenable, nor warranted by the facts, because they were already beaten before the bill was passed, and a few months' siege would necessarily compel the army to surrender. However, the bill was hardly a law before the flag of truce was hoisted above the English breastworks.

The belief that there was free irrigated land in the West for all citizens of the United States, and that there was a great boon in store for them, if half the reports of the great and sudden prosperity which the country was enjoying were true, made them eager to take advantage of the opportunity to swear allegiance. They knew they must soon surrender. It was inevitable. It might as well be at once, without bloodshed and farther scrimping of rations. The soldiers fairly forced an immediate capitulation. The officers feared the entire army would go over in a body if they did not at once surrender.

The result was an unconditional surrender of the whole English army and all its paraphernalia of war, and over ninety per cent, or nearly one hundred and seventy-five thousand men, at once filed application for citizenship, and were granted their papers as fast as they could be issued. They were as gleeful as though they had just fallen heir to a fortune, and when we remember the condition of England and Europe, and the lot of the laboring man there, we may well think they did. They shook the hands of the "boys in blue" like long-lost brothers, and the two great armies that had been facing

each other for weeks, each watching like wild beasts every movement of the other, now commingled together like one great happy family.

England was left absolutely without an army; and with a large portion of her navy gone was she longer a first-class nation? She was at least at war with one, and before the treaty of peace, which she was ready and willing to sign, was consummated, there was no telling what other misfortune would overtake her—yea, overwhelm her! But we must not divert attention from the United States at this time further than to say that soon three hundred thousand wives, sons, and daughters of the late English soldiers sought the American shores, where they soon found happy homes, and which they all "made a veritable Gibraltar for the literary bombardment of England." It was so described by a happy orator, because every friendly letter that one of them sent to friends across the sea, descriptive of their new home, was a bombshell, fired with telling effect at instruments and institutions of oppression.

A great reception was given Mr. Hardie in Washington soon after the close of the naval campaign, by the United States officials, and it was the greatest demonstration ever made in honor of mortal man. The most noted men of the country spoke, and all united in giving him the whole credit of bringing the war to such a speedy close. But in his response he unselfishly disclaimed all credit, and set forth at length the weaknesses of the foe with which we were contending. He showed that the war could not have ended otherwise than with victory for the United States. Among other things he said: "If a man is going to war he must not load himself down

with great guns and munitions of war, and then forget to even put a biscuit in his knapsack. That is what England has done. At no time has she ever had breadstuffs enough in the kingdom to feed her people three months. Her statesmen have long known this, and have showed the utter folly of making the great preparations for war England has always been making, with no bread with which to feed her soldiers or her people. As long ago as 1896 they advocated the building of great warehouses to be kept filled with wheat, as a protection in case of war.

"No war could make greater havoc in England than for the United States to discontinue the annual wheat supply she sends to her, and it is not only wheat she must have, but raw materials of all kinds to keep her factories going. During the late rebellion every cotton mill in England was closed because of the failure of the United States to furnish cotton. The distress among the cotton-mill employes, and of all factory operators in fact, was deplorable, and it is well known, and borne out by history, that England suffered nearly as much by the rebellion as the United States herself. She not only lost the raw material with which to run her factories, but a large market for the finished product. You had but to apply the embargo tactics of Jefferson in this present war and England would have been whipped without firing a gun. At that time it was not effective, because this nation was small, and England not largely dependent upon us, but the principle was right, and at this time would have been entirely sufficient to overcome all war she could wage against the United States. No! If we had not taken a single one of her warships the result of the war could not have been different than it has been."

CHAPTER IX.

Two weeks after the surrender of the English army came the election, at which the amendment was to be voted upon, and it was approved by a very decided majority. All the soldiers in the field were allowed, as in the Rebellion, by special act, to vote where they were, and these votes were to be counted from the States from which they were enlisted. The President at once, as was his duty, issued the following proclamation:

"TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

"You are hereby notified that Amendment No. 25 to the Constitution of the United States, voted on at the last general election, received the necessary majority of votes cast, and is now a part of the organic and established law of the land.

"By its terms all real property, all personal property kept for sale, all bonds, stocks, notes, and other evidences of indebtedness in excess of one-half million dollars in value, heretofore owned by any person who is a resident of the United States, or, if not a resident, whose property is within the jurisdiction of the United States, did thereby revert to and is now the property of the Federal Government of the said United States.

"And the day following said general election, it was by law duly enacted (one already prepared having hastily passed) that all who have heretofore been owners of any property now belonging to the United States Government, and now have said property in their possession and under their control, are required under strict penalties, both civil and criminal, to properly care for said prop-

erty and continue the operation of the business it represents with the force now in charge, the same as if it were still their own, until said property is duly inventoried and turned over to the accredited officers of the Government.

"I hereby call upon all who are interested in said laws, and may have property in their possession belonging to the Government, to inform themselves as to the requirements of the same, and govern themselves as therein provided; and I further state that the penalties thereof will be rigidly enforced against all violators.

"The people in their wisdom, for the protection of their liberties, have seen fit to direct the Government to take possession of the immense fortunes, which, having been built up under its fostering care, had begun to threaten its stability and argue its ultimate overthrow. They have done this legally and as provided by the law. By law these colossal fortunes have been built up. By law they are taken away and given to the Government, the representatives of their real producers. The same power, legally exercised by the people to abolish human slavery, has again said that a condition shall no longer exist that in effect makes slaves of a people. And I repeat, we must never lose sight of the fact that this great governmental transformation, while called a revolution, has been perfectly legal. Violence has not been done to a single legal enactment.

"No one can justly complain of the laws or their enforcement, when legally enacted by a highly civilized and Christian nation like ours, and especially when approved by such decisive majorities. To complain of or resist such laws is to become anarchists, for they alone claim rights above and beyond the legal enactments of the majority. The recipients of immense incomes, who find they must now part with them, should not complain. They have been dealt with leniently by a long-suffering people. They lose no rights divine, but only

heretofore legally recognized wrongs; the right (wrong) to levy tribute on the productions of the people's labor and exact a share therefrom and from those unable to give.

"I would say to those adversely affected, who believe a wrong has been done them, that they, too, have the right to go among the people and make known their grievances, and try and cultivate a sentiment in favor of again restoring their lost fortunes. They have a perfect right to appeal to the same authority that made this law to again unmake it, or to ask indemnity at its hands, but I cannot believe anyone thinks an injustice has been done.

"The Hon. Mark Mishler uttered an axiom in political economy when he said, in his great speech before the United States Constitutional Convention, that 'The annual income of all the people can never exceed the annual productions of all the people.' Money is but a measure of value. We speak of a person's income in dollars, but it is only a convenient way of expressing an idea as to about how much of the product of the people's labor he may enjoy. The millionaires of the last part of the nineteenth century have had incomes that enabled them to appropriate to their own use a large part of the total products of all the people's labor, and for it they gave little or no equivalent. The great natural opportunities that our newly settled country afforded for a long time prevented the people from clearly seeing this great drain of the nation's life-blood, sufficient to well-nigh ruin it under ordinary circumstances.

"To stop the drain, however, great as will be the benefits, is but an incident of the much greater saving that will be effected, in the opinion of many, by the system of production and distribution that must of necessity be adopted if the Government properly manages and conducts the great business industries of which it is now a principal owner. The people are now more greatly affected by and likewise more greatly interested in the

administration of the Government than in times past. It behooves us to study its affairs as never before, and always exercise a watchful care over its doings. It has now become a matter of business—a business in which we are all co-operative shareholders, and he who would 'mind his own business' must watch the administration of the Government.

"I have confidence that the people are equal to the task, and I have an abiding faith that we are about to enter upon one of the grandest, most glorious, and remarkable eras in the history of the world.

"Respectfully,

"WM. J. BRYAN,

"President."

To intelligently understand the industrial conditions which the revolution inaugurated it is necessary to refer back to the beginning of a sort of evolution in the methods of making the manufactured goods, and the way the people had of selling or distributing them, and review this evolution until it culminated in the revolution. It was largely an industrial revolution, because it was the gradual changing and perfecting of the methods of production and distribution that forced it upon the people, that being a main cause of the great concentration of wealth.

A generation before the revolution, the people, generally, used to bitterly oppose paternalism or socialism, as they called the conducting of business enterprises by the Government. They argued that the people in their individual capacity should conduct all such matters, and the Government run the Government only and keep out of anything that savored of business. This argument was continued by two classes. The first class was one

that made large sums of money out of enterprises that always belonged to the Government to conduct, or were operating enterprises that the Government would naturally first assume control of. The second class seemed to think that personal supervision by the proprietor was necessary to successfully operate any business. Among the most prominent of the first class were the National bankers, who had enjoyed the privilege of issuing money based on United States bonds, and who continually kept up the cry and held conferences to protest against the Government continuing in the "banking business," which they called issuing paper money of its own. The fact is, they had gotten into the "governing business," had partly usurped a function of the Government, and, not satisfied, they wanted to wholly usurp it, by making the Government retire the greenbacks and treasury notes, and leave the field clear to them to issue all paper money. The demands of these men and the resolution of their conventions were the most brazen-faced and showed the most unmitigated gall ever recorded in the history of man. Yet so strong were they that one of them—Lyman J. Gage—was made Secretary of the Treasury by William McKinley, and they proceeded to attempt to foist their contemptible policy upon the country, but they failed to do it, to the praise of patriotic Republicans. Instead, they well-nigh accomplished the ruin of the old Republican party; at least they rent her in twain, even worse than Grover Cleveland, in championing the same policy, had disrupted the old Democratic party in 1896. "They pulled the temple down on their own heads."

The second class, which believed personal supervision by the proprietor necessary for the successful operation of a business, were honest and sincere in their belief, and susceptible to a change of conviction as the evolution—in production and distribution before mentioned—progressed and clearly showed the error of their contention. At one time (during the first half of the nineteenth century) they were right, but later entirely wrong, and before the revolution they realized it; and before it became necessary to inaugurate the present system they ceased to be an opposing factor. They saw their error in the fact that all the great business industries and enterprises in which there were large profits, and which were most successfully conducted in the latter part of the nineteenth century, ceased entirely to be personally supervised by the owner. Their magnitude, if no other reason, prevented it, and they had come to be conducted by a system that gradually developed from long years of study and improvement. It was the perfected "hired-man" system, which, to fully understand, it is quite necessary to briefly describe.

It was a system devised by the trusts, but partly copied from the methods used by all governments in conducting the businesses they at that time operated, which were very many indeed in all the countries of the world. While for a time, during the dark days preceding the revolution, it looked as if it would grind mankind to dust and reduce humanity to serfdom, it finally redounded to their incalculable benefit. It was this very system that made the storm before and cleared the skies after the revolution. It did it all.

It was a system of directory boards, which, through presidents and superintendents under strict and absolute accountability, were made to most successfully conduct enterprises of gigantic proportions and intricate details. This system permeated the whole industrial world. Until the Government assumed control it ran the railroads, the telegraphs, and the express business. Before the adoption of this amendment it was running the banks, the insurance business, the mines, the department stores, the factories of every kind and description, and even gigantic hotels. Not only were all these immense businesses run under this system, but the more gigantic they were the more successful they seemed to be. Enterprises with details too intricate to possibly describe were operated with most complete and perfect success.

Scribner's Magazine during 1897 had a series of articles on "Great Businesses" which show that the present industrial system of National co-operation was but a short step from the well-developed and nearly perfect method of running great enterprises at that time. These articles took the department store, the mammoth hotels, the factories, the banks, the building of "sky-scrapers," the operation of newspapers, etc., and showed the system under which they were run. From them it is seen that these immense concerns with their multitudinous and innumerable details were then conducted by great stock companies with the perfection of clockwork, and with as unvarying regularity as the solar system. They were all run by this system, which had been gradually evolved and developed by long years of study and improvement in the ways and methods of conducting such businesses.

Those articles, though published long ago, are important pages in the history of the revolution, and should be read by all who would understand why it was so easily accomplished, and also for the causes of the gathering of the storm of revolution. The one on the department store shows there was not a city in the United States in 1897 of over one hundred thousand inhabitants that did not have one or more of those institutions. New York had fifty; Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Brooklyn, and all the great cities had large numbers of them. The article closed with these words:

"Time was when there seemed to be a prospect that the rivalry between these giants would involve all in ruin. But they only increased in power and scope. That rivalry is largely a thing of the past. The fight is between the department stores dealing in all lines of goods, and the specific store dealing in one. This century's end is witnessing the crisis of the battle; a battle on the one side for conquest, on the other for existence. The twentieth century will determine the issue!"

These stores had sprung up entirely in a generation. Single establishments did a business of fifteen million dollars in a year and carried four hundred distinct lines of goods, or four hundred distinct stores in one monstrous building—a little world in which one could live in luxury almost indefinitely. Anything could be purchased, from a "needle to a threshing machine." So complete were these concerns that one could have his meals prepared, his clothes made, his hair cut, his teeth pulled, his photograph taken; or he could be nursed and doctored if sick within their walls!

It is impossible to describe all the details of conducting these gigantic enterprises, and it is likewise impossible

to explain them in the present system. But the old nineteenth century department store is only a cog in the present industrial system of National co-operation. When the revolution was on, and the people were sure that institution would work, and did, successfully, they saw that the most difficult part of the present system—the distribution of goods—must be a success, and they readily undertook the operation of it when they found themselves the owners of a large portion of the stock in many of these stores by the adoption of the amendment to the United States Constitution.

The Scribner's Magazine articles went minutely into the methods of operating the mammoth hotels prior to the revolution. They are but another cog in the present system. The cog was not changed. It was just slipped whole into the big wheel that makes up the system of to-day. In 1850 it would have been impossible to devise a way by which such a hotel could be run. Time evolved and developed it until great stock companies, in 1897, could, through perfect rules and regulations, by means of superintendents, stewards, and housekeepers, run a hotel that would feed and shelter thousands every day.

One of those hotels had a laundry employing sixty people, and an average of one hundred and forty thousand pieces were laundered every week. It had its hand and machine ironing rooms, employing scores of people, and soiled articles could be washed, dried, ironed, and returned for use within forty-five minutes after they entered the wash room.

They had their bakeries divided into departments.

One man would make nothing but rolls, but a dozen varieties, and in one day, in 1896, "during the horse show the roll bake-man in a New York hotel turned out 13,000." They had their "fry chef." "He would not be allowed to stand by the broiling range." They had women who made nothing but toast. A large hotel employed from fifty to sixty cooks in all the departments. There was the broiling range and the roasting range, each with its force of cooks. Over each kitchen range was a large hood, in which was an electric fan to carry off the odors.

"In the first place a system of checking obtained throughout the house. In no department is anything surrendered to anybody without a proper order for it, and then the delivery is duly recorded for reference and auditing. When the kitchen sends to the store room for supplies, a registration, countersigned by the chef, must be shown before, and, in some hotels, a receipt after the article is handed over. When the chambermaid goes to the laundry for clean towels, she must hand over a corresponding number of soiled ones, and the head laundress must take account of it on her book with the maid's number and the time of the occurrence. In dining rooms, cafes, and such places the same system is still more thorough."

They had dishwashing machines that cleaned 20,000 dishes in a day. That all might be complete, the hotel had its own blacksmith, steamfitter, plumbers, tinkers, cabinetmakers, etc., with their shops. They had "a mending room with a dozen women employed; upholstering establishments with six or eight men; a printing

office that kept a good practical printer busy printing bills of fare, menus for private dinners, billheads, pass-blanks, notices, check-blanks, etc." A good hotel would employ three or four hundred people, and yet before the year 1900 a perfect system had been evolved by which they could be directed to attend to all the details of the business and run it with complete and perfect success. Of it the writer in Scribner's then further said:

"The hotel manager can take out one of his books * * * and tell how many dinners he served on March 24, six years ago. On the next column of the same page he can see how large a force of men were employed in the dining room that same day, and just how many of each sort and how much money each was receiving. * * * So it is all through. They keep score on everything, from the number of dark days of each year to the yards of lint, and price of it, used for polishing andirons and brass railings. * * * By reference to his books the hotel man can reckon to a cent the exact cost of every element that makes up his business, from the expense of stationery to the average loss from breakage and theft."

Everything is saved. "The steward's department saves all the grease and sells it. This brings in a revenue of four or five thousand dollars at some hotels." The refuse is sold for about one thousand per year.

Now we see how the system put in vogue by the great aggregation of wealth before the revolution made everything ready for it. They fixed it all so it was just a step from their system to the present one. Everything was conducted just as we have seen how the department store and the mammoth hotel were operated. These were all corporation stock companies, or practically so, as were all the great factories, which were all operated by the

same system. The transfer of their stock never affected their operation or management until the election of directors, at least, when the buyers of stock might put in different ones, and then, if they desired, the new directors would inaugurate new policies or make changes in the methods of management. It was the same with all these stock company concerns, as with the railroads, as before explained, when the Government took possession of them. Their stock was sold, traded, deposited as security, speculated in, and gambled on in all the stock markets every day, but it never affected the management of them. The employes would never know who owned the stock, and some people often bought stock in all these great manufacturing concerns without knowing anything whatever about them, except the dividends that were annually declared. That was all they wanted to know.

The purchase by the Government of any of the stock in any of these gigantic corporations was no different than its purchase by anyone else, and the transfer of their stock to the Government by the adoption of the amendment was just the same as if it had gone on the market and purchased it. They would all continue to be governed by the same rules and regulations; they would all be operated by the same perfected system, under the control of the same superintendents, managers, and operators, as before, until the Government ordered changes to be made.

Until the Government ordered new rules and regulations put in force and new managers put in charge, there was no reason why all these gigantic corporations should

not run along exactly as they had before the stock had been transfered to it. And even if it desired, could it effect changes in the management of these corporations unless it held a majority of the stock in them, or unless it could get other stockholders to agree on the changes it desired to make, and could get them to join it in putting in new directors who would order the changes? That is the only way to change the management of a corporation. The Government would have to work through the Directory Boards of the different concerns, and when it held a majority of the stock it could, by selecting directors, entirely change its policy if it desired.

So when we look at the matter in the right light and consider the system under which all these institutions and gigantic corporations were run, instead of being surprised that there was not a ripple in the management or operation of them by having a part or all their stock transferred, by the new law, to the Government, we should indeed be surprised to have had the contrary occur. There was not a particle of disturbance in the business world.

The Government became the owner of a majority of all the coal and iron mines, and of the oil industry; that is, it became the owner of a majority of the stock of the corporations that had owned them. It became a large stockholder in all the fire and life insurance companies, as it did also of factories all over the country for the manufacture of all the necessaries and luxuries of life known to man. It became a part owner of the sugar refineries; of cotton and woolen mills; of steel rail mills, flour mills, breweries, distilleries, etc. It became part

owner in the department stores in twenty of the leading cities of the United States, and of some of the big hotels before described. It also came into possession of much of the stock of the street-car lines of the principal cities of the country. Millions of acres of land reverted to the Government, for which it had little use, as we shall soon see. Half the National debt was paid, as the bonds became the property of the Government, about one-half of them being owned by men worth above the half-million dollar exemption. And it also became the holder of the bonds of States, cities, etc., sufficient to pay the balance. In all, about twenty billions of dollars' worth of property was transferred to the Federal Government—an amount equal to $300 per capita, or $1,500 for a family of five, the equal of a good, well-furnished home. Its value, of course, could not be accurately estimated, because the changed conditions inaugurated made some property that had been valuable property entirely worthless, and more to depreciate.

All this vast amount of property reverted to the people—that is, their representative, the Government. It had been in the possession of less than ten thousand millionaires; men who never produced a tithe of it. No! nor one-hundredth part of the generous allowance of one-half million which the Government left them. The people, the Government, now had that which they had produced, and which had been the means that had enabled the plutocrats to exact from the producing classes one-half of their yearly product, and required them to do double the work they ought to have done to get the plain necessaries of life. With this great leak stopped,

should they not enjoy great prosperity? They thought so, and expected it, but of the extent they had no idea whatever. They knew they could then enjoy the whole product of their own labor, and not have to hand a part of it over to plutocratic sharks and highwaymen; but they did not realize the benefits that would accrue because of the changed methods of production and distribution. It carried them forward with leaps and bounds from poverty and want to luxury and affluence. It even surpassed their dreams of opulence.

The Constitution of the United States had always provided when Congress should meet, but gave Congress the power to change it. It was originally fixed at a year from the December following the election. At the time the Constitution was framed the date for Congress to meet was all right, as it took months for some members to reach the capital, for they had to travel by stage and on horseback, and it was, of course, not advisable to have it meet in the summer months. But this custom had been adhered to for a century—after conditions had entirely changed and we had outgrown that feature of the Constitution the same as many others. The people often found a Congress they had repudiated meeting in session and enacting laws which they did not want, while the one they had just elected was sitting idly by for thirteen long months, doing nothing, when the country demanded legislation at its hands. This was changed in 1900, and it was provided that Congress should meet just one year earlier, or one month, instead of a year and one month, after its election. So the Congress elected in the fall of 1902, the year the amendment was voted upon and

adopted, would meet in December following its election in November. However, it was convened at once, in extra session.

Mark Mishler had been elected a member, and as a fitting tribute to his great worth was chosen Speaker of the House. This was an honor that never before in the history of the country had been conferred upon a member on his first term in Congress. But he was a man of parliamentary knowledge, and had an opportunity to show his ability in that line while president of the Constitutional Convention. Probably he would not have been chosen Speaker at his first term had he not held the former position.

A Speaker was never so important a factor before, and it was never more necessary to have a good, true man in that position. The old committees were appointed, but they had lost much of their importance, because they were now overshadowed by new committees provided by Congress which were to look after all the different industries in which the Federal Government held a financial interest, and to recommend legislation on the different subjects. This was what made the Speakership so important. The success of desired reforms depend much on getting good men on the different committees.

There were committees appointed on coal mines, on iron mines, on the oil industry, on woolen factories, cotton factories, boot and shoe factories, tanneries, iron and steel mills, steel rail mills; on breweries and distilleries, on sugar refineries, on farm implement factories, wagon and carriage factories, car factories, and factories of every other description; on lands, on Government, State, city

and county bonds, on department stores, hotels, etc. There were, in fact, committees for every branch of the entire industrial system, for the Federal Government was interested in and had to deal with every branch of it, as it now owned stocks in corporations engaged in all these industries. The task of getting men properly qualified to fill all these numerous committees was a delicate and arduous one for the Speaker to perform. It would have been impossible to have secured men in the nineteenth century Congresses, composed as they were of professional politicians, but proportional representation, as heretofore explained, sent an entirely different class of men to Congress. Many of these industries had sent members to Congress as their special champions from the larger States, and they were posted in every detail of the industry that had been their special line of study. For instance, the coal miners sent no less than five members to this Congress from the State of Pennsylvania. They were men of education, men who stood at the head of the miners' organizations, but who had themselves delved into the mines, had been producers, and represented the producing classes. They were men who had fairly grown up in the mines and knew every phase of the business, and were capable of protecting the people's interests in this industry. Such men had never been, and never would have dreamed of getting, into Congress under the old methods of election, especially from the State of Pennsylvania. The labor unions had over fifty members in this Congress from all the States, and they were nearly all skilled mechanics; and among them all there was scarcely a trade that did not have a representative who understood it thoroughly.

But trades representatives were not the only gain in the make-up of our Congresses. The professional politician was nearly shut out entirely, and thus there was a general improvement in the personnel of this body.

By careful study and inquiry the Speaker was thus now able to select admirable men, thoroughly adapted to the work, to make up his committees, yet he was universally commended for the conscientiousness with which he acted. These committees, it was plain to be seen, were of interest to the people—not like the old ones, prior to the revolution. The people now knew of their existence and watched them closely. Each of these bodies were required to investigate thoroughly the industries, and recommend whatever legislation was needed to best protect the Government and conserve the interests of the people. Until the committees knew the extent and whereabouts of the property which the Government owned in different industries, it would be difficult of course for them to accomplish anything, and one would naturally think it next to impossible to ascertain what and where the Government's interests were. But it was not. Before the amendment passed, the Government officials could easily have told with a remarkable degree of accuracy how much property would revert to the Government, and just where it was located, and about how much it was annually earning. I hear the reader say: "That is strange! How was it that they could do that?"

By virtue of the machinery put into operation to collect the income tax—that dreadful tax that the Supreme Court once declared unconstitutional, but which the

people in the first days of the revolution made a part of the Constitution; that tax which the plutocrats fought so bitterly because it would "allow Government officials to pry into the private affairs" of people. It had been in force for about two years at this time, and was in good working order. It was just about the same as the one the Supreme Court had set aside, and the one in force during the war of the Rebellion. They all required the parties subject to the tax to file a report of their property and business interests with the Government, which report had to be under oath. It would show their whole business; the income derived from lands and the amount from dividends on stocks; the salary a person received, and the income from the business he was conducting, etc. With reports honestly executed, the Government had very little difficulty in getting possession of its property. During the first year the income tax was in force a few convictions and fines imposed for making false or incomplete returns made them quite accurate the second year.

An increased force of clerks was at once set to work compiling the past year's income tax reports, and in a very short time a complete list of the people whom the reports showed to be worth above a half-million was made, together with the amount of their wealth, and of what it was composed.

With this amendment, as with all others, Congress of course had power to enact needed legislation to put it in force, and so, not intending to depend upon the income tax reports alone, it passed a law requiring all millionaires to file a much more complete report, under oath,

than the income tax had provided: and also in this report to select what property they chose to keep under the half-million dollar exemption provision, and point out what they desired to revert to the Government. It also provided that the making of false returns or reports would be punishable by total confiscation of all the property of the person making such false reports, and also by imprisonment. The law provided the same penalties for the failure to report at all. They were, by the terms of the law, given thirty days to report. As a matter of self-protection, the returns came in very full and complete, and were very accurate. Of course, every person with a half-million dollars' worth of property had to have managers and expert bookkeepers to conduct and keep account of his business, so all who desired could easily make very satisfactory returns, and, as above stated, as a matter of self-protection, they found it necessary to do so. The law provided for a commission to pass on and appraise the exemptions claimed, and also to condemn the property of those failing to report, as well as those making false returns. Congress did not depend on these reports either, but through the Internal Revenue officers and postmasters made a careful investigation of the assets of every millionaire. Every postmaster of every town where one resided received a copy of his report with orders to thoroughly investigate, examine all records, etc. If this was not satisfactory an Internal Revenue officer was sent onto the grounds on the same mission, and if either discovered any errors or discrepancies in the report the gentleman was summoned as a witness before a United States Commissioner for examina-

tion, and on failure to respond, was brought there by a Federal officer.

When we see the situation as it was, it is plain to be seen that it was not a difficult matter to get possession of the property which had reverted to the Government by the passage of the amendment.

CHAPTER X.

Among the first things that Congress did was to provide a Government Asset Bureau, where all stocks, bonds, deeds, etc., representing all the different industries after formal transfer, were recorded. Here a record of all the property belonging to the Government was kept, and it was made as complete as possible. Each industry was kept separate. For instance, a complete record was made of every boot and shoe factory in which the Government held an interest, showing what portion of the stock it held, who owned the balance, what superintendent was in charge, and what the annual output or capacity was; how many men were employed, who was president, secretary, treasurer, who constituted the board of directors, and all other necessary information to give one a full and complete knowledge of what the Government business was. The number of factories of any kind in which the Government obtained an interest was not so numerous but what a short examination of these records would give a person a good idea of the extent of its business in any industry.

These records were made as fast as the persons whose property reverted to the Government sent in their reports of what would go to the Government. They simplified and systematized matters very much, and made the work of Congressional committees quite easy.

One might think the Government's interest would be

quite small and trifling in many factories, and that it could do but little and have but little to say about the conducting of their affairs. That was true in many factories. There was not, however, a single industry, in which the Government acquired an interest, but what it owned a majority of the stock in more or less of the factories, and so was able to control absolutely many in every industry. The factories in which the Government owned the controlling interest were usually the larger and more extensive ones, with the best and latest improved machinery, and which were able to produce more cheaply than the others because these, and not the little factories, were the ones the millionaires had owned.

This, as all saw, at once gave the Government the key to the situation in every industry in the country. If it desired it could, by lowering prices of the products of the factories it controlled, and rapidly building thereto, or buying more, ruin all other factories and soon do all the manufacturing. Then, there were no longer any great multimillionaire aggregations of wealth for them to fight. There could be nothing able to cope with it. It could now become a great devouring giant, if Congress so directed and decreed.

All the factories in the different industries had had considerable mutuality of interest for some time before the revolution. Each industry, which might consist of dozens or hundreds of factories all over the country, was well organized into trusts that were officered the same as each individual factory. The object was to fix and control prices, and to determine the amount of products to be produced. The representatives of each factory in

a given industry would meet together, and after comparing past years' consumptions would agree on what they believed would be needed for another year in their line, no matter whether it was boots and shoes, coal, lumber, iron, woolen goods, cotton goods, or what not, as there were trusts in every line of business. Then they would parcel out how much of the amount each factory should make, and further agree at what prices it should be sold. Each factory then would give bonds to live up to the agreement; i. e., of not making more than its share of the goods or selling below the trust price. In many instances, during the reign of the trusts, factories were closed entirely, but received their share of the profits, and their employes were thrown out of employment. This would be the case when the trust wanted to decrease production, which was always made an excuse for raising prices. Frequently they would keep reducing the amount of each factory's product, at the same time raising prices, until many factories would run only half-time, but the profits they made were enormous on what they produced. Then some factory, desirous of making more of the big profits, would secretly produce a little more than its share, and run a little longer time than it was permitted to do by the trust agreement. They would do this stealthily and secretly, hoping not to be found out. Then another factory, stimulated by the same greed for more profits, would quietly do the same thing. Soon some big concern would learn that factories were violating the trust agreement, and knowing the difficulty of enforcing that contract in the courts, would openly declare war, open its factory, and run at full time and

probably cut prices. Then the trust was "busted." Down and down went prices, until people could buy at a reasonable figure.

Articles—wire nails in particular—were known to drop 50 per cent in a fortnight after the trust "busted." Then those factories which did not desire to produce at such small profits would get together again and reorganize the trust. If any factory refused to join, the balance would go on and organize without it. Then the trust salesmen would "go after that factory's customers." They would get every one of them in many instances, selling below cost and at a loss to do so. Then as soon as the refractory concern was "busted" its late customers had to pay the trust prices again.

Such were the ways of the trusts. Their organizations were complete and perfect. They seemed to be a part of the great industrial evolution that culminated in the revolution.

These organizations now became useful to the Government and the people in carrying out the reforms that had been set in motion. The committees representing the various industries almost universally reported that all the factories of one kind in which the Government had an interest should be run from one head. Congress was agreed that this was the proper method, and by it a magnificent industrial system could be built up. The trusts formed the basis for it—a foundation to begin on. As before stated, the stockholders in the factories in every industry saw they were at the mercy of the big Government-controlled factories, in which the Government owned a majority of the stock, and the proposition

from a Congressional Committee to reorganize the factories in each different industry in the whole country into a gigantic stock company, and issue the stock of the new company to the individual stockholders of the old companies and the Government according to their respective shares met with ready favor. It was found that this would still give the Government a controlling interest in each of the big companies. This was the policy pursued by the Government, and the people soon found immense companies, the like of which the world had never before seen, engaged in all the manufacturing industries—one company for each separate industry, with perhaps factories in many different parts of the country, but all guided by one head and under one control, and the final controlling force was Congress, or the people through Congress, which was competent to legislate on any subject, as shown in connection with what has been said about proportional representation.

Each of the committees before spoken of now had to deal with one gigantic company, to watch its working, and to propose legislation that would perfect its operations, which they were well qualified to do, as there were men on all these committees that had been employed all their lives in the industries which they had under committee jurisdiction.

So we find the people (the Government) the owner of a majority of the stock in all these immense companies for the manufacture and production of everything—of every necessary and luxury known to man at that time. True, the factories of the companies were not what they are to-day, but they were indeed wonderful for that time,

and capable of satisfying every desire of the people. All they had to do was to keep the wheels going and they could roll in luxury and have plenty of leisure in which to cultivate more wants and desires; and this, as the boys of the nineteenth century vulgarly expressed it, they did "to the Queen's taste."

The great factories continued to be run by the same perfected system in vogue before the revolution, except as improvements could gradually be made and savings of labor effected. The one aim of the Government now was to perfect an industrial system that would produce the greatest possible amount of the necessaries and luxuries of life for the least possible expenditure of labor. The old idea that prevailed in the days before the revolution, when competition was considered the life of trade, that the country would prosper when the people were all employed, no matter whether in useful and productive, or in useless and unproductive, employment, was no longer tenable. The one idea was to do away with and abolish all wasted labor and misapplied energy, and with that aim solely in view it does not take an imaginative mind to readily see the changes that would quickly be made in the method of conducting the factories in one industry from one source or head that had but a short time before been under hundreds of different managements and all run independently of each other. When the great corporations bought up more factories before the revolution and consolidated them with the ones already operated the people well understood what changes were made to effect a saving of labor. Now we simply did the same thing, but it is unnecessary to speak of this

saving—so plain to be seen all about us in this day—and in fact it is not so much our purpose to describe the present state of society as the means and causes, and the immediate results, of the revolution. So we will not dwell on the mammoth factories of to-day.

As stated, the Government became the owner of department store stocks until it had a controlling interest in hundreds of these institutions in twenty different cities in the United States. This industry, like all the others, was put under one control and management. A department store company was organized. The Government owned enough stock in the different ones so that, when added together, it still had a majority of the stock of the new company. The balance of the stock not owned by the Government was issued to the stockholders in the old department stores. A number of the old stores were operated by individuals or partnership concerns, and in these cases the stores were simply valued at whatever they were worth and that much stock added to the totals of the big companies. Then the Government and each of the partners would have their share of this stock. With all these stores put under one control it is easy to see, again, what saving could be effected.

The great loss of energy and waste of labor in the distribution of goods were not in the department stores, however, but in the myriad of little retail shops and establishments scattered all over the broad land. The merchants and middlemen with their families and dependents had constituted over one-third the whole population. Just think of it! It cost as much to distribute goods after they were made as it did to make them. Here

was one-third of all the people engaged in an industry that ten per cent of the number could have easily conducted. The labor of all that vast multitude which the producer had to support was lost. It came to naught. The country was not one farthing the richer for it. They were unconscious drones. True, they worked hard, but it was of no more benefit than the playful child shoveling sand on the beach, nor as much, for their work afforded no one any pleasure, while the child's did afford it some amusement.

And the strangest part of it all was they lived better and enjoyed more of the comforts of life than any of the actual producers, and many, with their families, seemed to think they were a more important factor in society than the farmer or the factory employe, who produced all of this world's goods and riches, and then was looked down upon. In fact, no factory employe or his family ever moved in the best society of the moderately well-to-do middlemen.

All is changed now. The middleman is no longer a drone to prey upon society. He earns his bread either by the sweat of his brow or by the machine he operates. He is a necessary factor, an indispensable cog in the wheel, but his class does not constitute one-third of the wheel. Yet he is as useful as when it did.

How did this come about? Easily, naturally, by simply following the old and long-established policy of the Government of conducting whatever industry it operated at cost, and for the benefit of the people and not for profit. The postal service had always been run at cost, and even less than cost. So had the telephone, tele-

graph, express, and railroads for about two years, or since the Government had begun to operate them.

Under this policy railroad fares had been reduced to one-third of what they formerly were, and trains were becoming so numerous and crowded, and passenger traffic was increasing so rapidly, that at that rate the Government was bound to make a profit, notwithstanding the fact that wages had been doubled for all except the President (there was only one now, not hundreds), while the pay of coal heavers and section men had been quadrupled.

The running of the railroads and express lines "at cost" and not "for profit" had, before the Government became the majority stockholder in the department stores, greatly stimulated the business of them. They had, even before the revolution, begun to absorb the business of the country. Their profits were enormous and becoming greater each year. From 1895 to 1898 the matter of attempting in some way to suppress the department store because it was ruining the retailers, and, in their opinion, the country, came before many State Legislatures. Thirty Pullman coach loads of retailers went to Springfield, Ill., alone to log-roll with the Legislature. The managers of those immense concerns were summoned before legislative committees. But it came to naught. It is impossible to suppress a good thing, one that will give the people better service at less cost. Yet the injured fellows always try to, and try hard. In the year 1897 they tried to make it an issue in the Chicago city election. Meetings were held everywhere in the city condemning the great stores, and an or-

dinance prohibiting the sale of meats in dry goods stores (department stores) was passed, but immediately held to be unconstitutional by the courts. Many other city councils were called upon to protect the retailer, by imposing a special tax on them. Taking all into consideration, the great department stores probably did as much as any one thing in bringing about the revolution.

Now that the Government owned these stores, was it to continue the policy it had always pursued in its other businesses of conducting this one at cost? Could it do it? It was not sole owner, yet having a majority of the stock it could control its management. But it could not very well make the stock owned by the individual stockholders worthless by allowing no profit and simply running the business at cost. To avoid total confiscation of their stock it would have to provide that a certain dividend be paid on the stock held by individuals, and then it could conduct the business practically at cost and make no dividend on its own stock. That could be easily arranged.

But would it do to run this business at cost? With cost-conducted express and freight trains, by which the people could easily have the goods of these concerns brought to their doors; with cost-railway fares, by which they could also cheaply visit them frequently, no matter in what part of the country they lived, it took no prophetic mind to foresee that they would at once do practically the whole business of the country in the way of distributing goods. People are no respecters of persons when it comes to a trade. They will buy where they can buy the cheapest, even if Satan gets their trade and the

Lord goes without customers. This was understood. If these immense institutions were to dispense goods at cost there is where the people would buy; and not only for that reason, but the most valid and best reason of all—it was known that no adulterated goods would be sold by these stores nor be offered to the public with the honest stamp of the Government upon them.

Twenty-five million people who were engaged in or dependent on the avocation of the middlemen would be left without a means of sustenance if these Government department stores were to be run at cost, and would be compelled to seek it elsewhere. But where would they find it? The rapidity with which the revolution was moving was just beginning to dawn upon many who had heretofore been its most rabid advocates and promoters. They now began to see for the first time whither they were drifting.

The matter came up before Congress in the report of the "Committee on Department Stores." By one majority that committee reported in favor of paying the individual stockholders—who with the Government owned the department-store company, which, as stated, had hundreds of such stores in twenty different cities—two per cent dividends, and after meeting that expense these institutions should be run at cost, as near as the Board of Directors could calculate.

The debate on this proposition was protracted and one of the most bitter that had occurred in Congress in the century. It was argued ably pro and con. Our old friend Ernest Youngblood, who "started the ball rolling to extend the power of the President to suppress riots,

etc.," was now in Congress. He was the most surprised man of all at the course things had taken. After a time, but before the Constitutional Convention had been called, Mark Mishler frankly told him what, in his opinion, would happen and be the outcome of the convention, but Mr. Youngblood scouted at the idea as being the dream of a visionary mind, and beseeched Mr. Mishler to not repeat it, because some shallow-brained plutocrat might believe his prophecy and become timid about calling the convention "to extend the power of the President to suppress riots, etc." This, in part, afforded Mr. Mishler and other leaders their excuse for the apparently secret way in which they proceeded. That was the course they naturally wanted to take, but they felt some compunctions of conscience about causing so momentous a change and leaving the people in the dark about it until it was upon them. Mark Mishler was one of the most thoroughly honest of men, and the "political methods," as he called them, that seemed necessary in calling the convention without its actual purpose being fully known were galling to his conscience, even if he was positive of the great benefit it would be to the human family.

Mr. Youngblood now took the floor in opposition to the majority report of the committee. He repeated for the first time what he called the prophecy of his "good friend" Mishler, how he considered it visionary and impossible, but beseeched and entreated Mr. Mishler not to give out his absurd opinion for publication for fear some of the wealthy class might possibly believe it and hesitate about assisting in getting the convention called.

"But," he proceeded, "time has proved the accuracy of his prophecy. I have watched with unabated amazement the rapid and momentous changes that have been going on. While I have been classed among the opponents of the revolution, my opposition has been passive. I have, in fact, been a Conservative among the Radicals. I have simply counseled deliberation and caution in our movements. I well know that in such times as we have been passing through to give such counsel is unpopular, and to do so is likely to be misunderstood. I want to say now that I am very glad of the changes which the revolution has so far effected. They have been and will continue to be of untold benefit to mankind, not only in our own country, but the whole world over.

"This revolution has made every man, woman and child in the whole land a co-operative stockholder in great manufacturing companies for the production of every luxury as well as every necessity of life. They are owners of manufacturing plants that would open the eyes of an Altrurian with surprise. So far we have met nothing but ever-repeated victories, but stimulated by unbounded success has many times, yes, always has, blinded the victor, banished his caution, and even made him reckless in his future conduct and action.

"I plead with you now to look well into the future before making the majority report of this committee the law of the land. The changes which so far have taken place are but trivial compared to what will certainly happen if this bill—to have the Government run the department stores at cost—is to pass. We call it revolution. We have had none yet, but revolution it will be if this

policy of having the great department-store company sell goods at cost is to become the settled policy of this country. I always have been and I still am a protectionist. I believe the minority report of that committee the correct doctrine to be applied to the subject under consideration, and that a bill embodying it (which will, of course, be presented) should be passed.

"By it the department-store company would have to sell at sufficient profit to protect the great mercantile interests of the country, and allow them to still continue to exist. I believe that they should be protected; I believe that this great fabric that has become a part of our social system should be nourished and maintained.

"Every merchant in this whole land has petitioned you not to pass this bill, but to pass the one that will be offered by the minority of the committee. And may they well petition and plead, as they would plead for their lives. Here is one of the most formidable petitions that was ever presented to Congress protesting against this bill. Are their requests to be unheeded and unheard? The millions of merchants are among the most intelligent and foremost citizens of the Republic. Are their opinions of no avail in influencing Congress? Their judgment is admittedly as good as any class of citizens in the country. They stand foremost in every town, city, and village. They are leaders everywhere. In every place you find them at the head of the churches, in the Common Councils, on the School Boards, etc. They are the directors of all our local institutions in all this broad land. Without this class the local affairs of the thousands and tens of thousands of little communi-

ties all over the country would not even have a guiding hand.

"Are not the interests of this great, intelligent, and mighty class that operate a majority portion of our industrial institutions to be considered and cared for? or is the great mercantile institution which they represent to be annihilated, murdered, crucified, and twenty-five million people, the very flower of the land, to be turned out into the streets?

"That is where they must go. If the hundreds of great department stores scattered over the country in all our leading cities, and which are run by this great company of which the Government is the majority stockholder, are to sell goods to the people at cost, then the death knell of every other retail dealer is sounded. They cannot live a day. With cheap car fare, now that the railroads are run at cost, with them carrying the people's purchases from these stores at cost, no merchant can compete. If they cannot compete and sell as cheaply, they must close up. And they cannot compete, even if they sell below cost, because the expense of operating the big stores is so much less in proportion to the sales.

"Now, do we want to destroy this great mercantile industry, that to-day employs, feeds, and supports one-third of all our people? Do we want to ruin and close up over a million retail stores, and make tens of thousands of business blocks representing thousands of miles of street frontage the inhabitants of bats and vampires? That is what the bill will do. It will throw millions out of employment and add no new industry, except it be the auctioneer's. There will be more work for him.

For a time his business in selling out bankrupt stocks will grow with a mushroom growth. Then even that will die out, and disappear before the new members of the profession become proficient. For a while the red flag will flaunt everywhere, and the only sound you will hear in many a decaying and almost deserted village will be the clang of the auction bell.

"Can it be this picture is overdrawn? Indeed, it is not half-painted. We all know that over ninety per cent of all the little towns and villages are wholly supported and sustained by the mercantile industry. There is not a factory in one of them. Take away their one single industry and what is left? They will disappear like snow before a midsummer sun. The people in these towns must seek employment in the Government factories in the cities already congested and unfit for habitation by men.

"But let us not drift with them to these big cities; let us stay a little longer in the country towns without manufacturing industries for support. One store is closed up. It is the clothing store. The proprietor cannot sell goods below cost, and finds he cannot compete with the big Government company stores. The people don't have to buy clothing every day. They can easily stock up once a year. As often as that, taking advantage of cheap railway fare, they will want to take a trip for pleasure and sightseeing to some big city, where the big Government stores are located, and they will arrange to do all their buying at that time, and save the profit they have been paying to their home clothing merchant.

"So we see he is without a business. His business block has been the best in the little town; now it becomes an eyesore, a great open cavern in the side of the street. A little while ago it was all bustle and life; now your voice will resound and re-echo through it, as you talk in the open door.

"The proprietor moves away to seek employment for himself and family. He has been the foremost citizen of his town and a leading member of his church. He will be missed, perhaps as mayor, as superintendent of the Sunday school, as president of the School Board. He has always been a leader in all the local affairs of the town, and no doubt occupied some of these positions. If he did not he was at least as prominent a figure as any of them who did. His contributions towards the parson's salary will be missed, as will also his other gifts to many different societies and his liberal patronage of all the institutions of the town.

"His residence is vacant. It has been one of the most beautiful in the place. His well-kept lawn, with its shrubberies and drives, has been pointed out by all with pride. We don't look towards it any more. We hate to pass it in the night time.

"His store and residence remain vacant for some months. He still tries to value them as much as before and demands rent that no one feels they are worth.

"In the meantime the furniture man finds he has no longer any customers. The red flag is swung out. The auction bell rings. The new auctioneer, a rising man in the profession, sells the stock. The hardware man, the jeweler, and the boot and shoe dealer find they

handle lines of goods that the people buy at the big Government stores, because they don't have to make frequent purchases, but can arrange to do their buying when they visit the city for a vacation. They likewise quit business. Their stores are vacant, as are also their residences. They have drifted elsewhere.

"Now there are a half-dozen empty stores, and many more vacant residences, in the little town. The competition for occupants brings rents down with a crash. Property depreciates in a few short months as never heard of before. The losing of a factory, the moving away of a county seat, pestilence, or famine never so disastrously affected a town.

"The grocer seeks better quarters, rents being cheaper; the older buildings in the outskirts of the business center are now left vacant. Renters of residences now move into the more spacious quarters, and the poorer houses are left vacant.

"The clerks who were employed in all these stores lately closed vacate their homes; sell, rent or dispose of them in any way; they go to the cities among the first, and probably find good employment in the Government factories or department stores. The day laborer of the town who depended for support upon doing 'odds and ends' for the late merchant kings, their clerks, and the people who have moved away, finds that he cannot now get employment. The people are not there who can give him work. He corresponds with some friend who has gone first to the city and is then employed in Government institutions. He finds he also can get work. He receives glowing accounts from the fellow who arrived in

time and got in on 'the ground floor,' and is wisely advised to come quick. He offers his little home that he has worked years to get, and for which he had paid hard-earned cash, for sale. He cannot get half what he paid for it. Why? Because he is told that So and So, who was a clerk in So and So's store, and has gone to the city, has a much better house that he only wants so much for. He sells for what he can get. He cannot live there, yet he cannot leave his little home to go to rack and ruin. He sells at a price that astonishes the people of the town. 'He gave away his place,' they say.

"But he goes to the city, arrives in time to also get in on 'the ground floor,' and so gets better wages, and finds he has made a good move, even if he did sell his place cheap. He writes his brothers, his brothers-in-law, and all his friends of what he has done, and advises them to take the same course; sell their property for what they can get and come.

"One after another of the poorer class leave the little town, unable to find work in it. More people take advantage of cheap railway fares and go to visit the big cities; everyone now has a friend or relation there whom they want to visit, besides seeing the sights.

"While they are there they buy all they can, not merely such things as they have to buy occasionally, but they stock up with groceries and things they daily buy of their home merchant. They find they can buy so much cheaper that they hit upon the scheme of sending orders to their friends whom they have visited, and who buy for them after they return home—things they should purchase in their own town, of their own home merchant.

"Property has already become a drug on the market. The bottom has dropped out of everything. There are more houses, more store buildings, etc., than there is demand for, more than there are people to use, so it could not be otherwise. When there are more houses than people to live in them, then people don't build more houses. When property is depreciating and no one can tell what is going to happen, people hesitate about making needed repairs. The result is the lumber merchant has no customers. His stock rots on his hands. He has to quit business. Another leading man, who has always been foremost in every public enterprise, is gone. His old home is vacant. Now that so many leading men are gone, he will be especially missed. His contributions to the preacher's salary are absolutely necessary if services are longer to be continued in the little church that has been dearer than home to many. The expense has been for some time more than the depleted membership could bear. They can now do no more, and services are discontinued, and the preacher moves away.

"There being no building, the fires in the brick kiln go out. The brickmaker moves away. All the carpenters, masons, plasterers, and painters are left without employment. Their shops are closed. The residences they either owned or rented are unoccupied.

"The proprietors of the few groceries and little variety stores that remain find they have no customers. The people are all moving away. There is no one to buy of them. Those who are left send mail orders to the Government stores, or, as before stated, stock up on their annual trips to the big city to see the sights and visit

their friends, or they send to those friends to do their buying for them. One after another they discontinue business or consolidate. The lawyer, the doctor, the dentist, everyone who depended upon the people for a livelihood, daily finds his income growing less. One by one they, too, leave the place. All have been leading men; they cherished their homes and associations in the little country town where they had always lived as they did their very lives. But the town has changed. Old associates are gone. Friends of a lifetime have disappeared. There is little left to tie them there. They must finally go; the very calls of the children for bread must be heeded.

"Property continues to further decline, until it is absolutely worthless. It cannot be sold at any price. Small capitalists who have retired, and live on the interests of their savings and accumulations, find their securities gone. They have mortgages on homes in the little town that are now vacant and going to ruin, and will not sell for half enough to pay the mortgage. They foreclose, sell for what the property will bring, and get a personal judgment for the balance. Then they set off like bloodhounds after the clerk, mechanic, or whoever he may be, who is now in the big city working in some Government institution, and that person has to pay this balance. He supposed of course that the house and lot were good for the mortgage, but they are not.

"That is what this bill, which must close every retail store in the whole country, will do for the owner of mortgaged property, the man who is in debt. It will drive him from a lifetime's associations and compel him

to abide among strangers. It will rob him of his little home, of all his savings, and saddle a great debt on him besides. Do you want to do that? If so, pass this bill.

"But let us not yet wander from the little country town, of which there are thousands and tens of thousands all over the country. Its churches will be left without membership, and one by one their bells will cease to sound on the Sabbath day. Their Sunday schools will be no more. The public school will be left without scholars. One room after another will become vacant and its teacher dismissed. Finally, one solitary teacher will, in one room of a great, nice schoolhouse, accommodate all the scholars who come. Every day adds to the ruin. Nobody becomes a new resident of the town, but daily those who have been there leave and cease to be residents any longer.

"The town can no longer support police officers or marshals. The pound tumbles down, cattle run in the streets, sidewalks are torn up, fences tumble down, shutters are off fine residences (now vacant), and the windows are broken out. What the year before were well-kept lawns are now grown to weeds and covered with rubbish. In some houses the doors are off or open, and dogs, cats, owls, and bats reign therein.

"All interest in keeping up the once tidy appearance of the town departs from those who still live there. Shiftlessness becomes contagious.

"This is the story of not one, but thousands of beautiful towns. Nothing has a more depressing effect on the spirit of man than the staring windows of great, empty houses, and to meet them on every hand becomes de-

moralizing. To walk the streets of such a town at night is like wandering in the catacombs.

"I admit that all I have said against the Government store monopolizing business by cutting prices would have been equally applicable to the private department store we have had in vogue. I am glad the Government has taken possession of these great stores, because it can control them and save the country from the ruin they would surely have brought upon it by driving every small retailer in the whole country out of business and into bankruptcy, as they were fast doing before the Government got control of them. To be able to stop the terrible havoc they were playing is one of the grandest achievements of the revolution; and to think, when now we can, that we hesitate to stop it, but are here considering a measure that will add to the ruin, is terrible to contemplate."

CHAPTER XI.

It was very unusual for a Speaker to take part in debate on any measure, but Mark Mishler departed from that custom and replied at length to the opponents of the bill about a week after his old friend, Mr. Youngblood, had addressed the House in opposition to the measure. He said:

"This bill provides that, after paying two per cent dividends to the individual stockholders with the Government in the department-store company, the business shall be conducted at cost. I hope and certainly believe it should become a law. We are all equal stockholders in this great company. Every man, woman and child is an equal stockholder in the Government's stock. It will have no customers except the stockholders, and we'll all buy about equally. Now, to contend that the stockholders should make a profit on their own purchases so they can have dividends on their own stock is certainly illogical. It is simply transferring money from one pocket of our trousers to the other.

"It has always been the policy of our Government to conduct businesses in which it was engaged at cost, and it seems to me there is more reason than ever before for continuing that policy in this line of business. In fact, the only reason offered for abandoning it is to prevent the growth of the business, and the same argument

against this bill would be more logical if offered in defense of a bill to discontinue the department stores entirely.

"My friend, Mr. Youngblood, says we have had no revolution yet, but the passage of the bill means one. I agree with him in that the effect will be more far-reaching than any one measure inaugurated by the revolution. Instead of evil, however, I can see nothing but good arising from it; with its enactment into law nothing but happy visions float before my eyes. Yea, they are scenes sublime.

"I am pleased with the candor of my friend, who admits that all the evils and calamities he so graphically portrays would have taken place under the regime of the private department store, and that there was no way of controlling them or stopping their onward march in absorbing all the retail business of the country and driving small retailers to bankruptcy, except for the Government to take possession of them. He has shown that a very small cut in profits by the private department store was fast doing what the total abolition of all profit by the Government department store, as he says, will do. And such a fate at the hands of the former would be terrible in fact, and justify his predictions, because the owner of the private department store would not stand ready to employ any of the displaced labor; and while still absorbing and retaining a large per cent of the profit, does not leave it in the hands of the people to enable them to employ the displaced labor, either; while with the Government department store the people are given all the benefit of the profit, and are thus enabled to employ

the displaced labor; and what they do not employ the Government will stand ready to furnish work for. That makes a wide difference, indeed. He talks of millions of people thrown out of employment. To me it seems the work of millions saved. He and the gentlemen who oppose this measure are veritable Chinese statesmen. The Chinese always object to the introduction of machinery because it will displace labor. No one can be in favor of encouraging the invention of labor-saving machines and logically oppose a method of conducting a business that will also save labor. We Americans all admit that the invention of a machine that, with one man, will do the work that it formerly required a hundred to do, is a good thing. We encourage such inventions. We welcome them with gladness and look upon the inventor as a benefactor to mankind. Nearly all our friends of the opposition agree with me in this. Is the invention of a machine whereby one man can do the work of a hundred any more valuable, any more to be welcomed, than a business method that will likewise enable one to perform the work of a hundred? There can be no difference. We welcome the machine because of the saving of labor it will effect; to be logical, we must as gladly welcome a business method that will do as much.

"Here we have a method that our friends rightly tell us will enable a few thousands to do the work of millions. Here is then, in fact, a machine, the greatest of which the world has ever dreamed, that will not only do the work of hundreds, but of thousands, and instead of welcoming it with glad hearts we fear it. Oh! how illogical we are!

"To-day I received a letter from an old friend of mine, a man well known to Mr. Youngblood. He was in the Legislature with him that passed the first resolution asking Congress to call the United States Constitutional Convention. His family have read his recently delivered speech. He has a nephew of whom he is very justly proud, a young man in whom I take great interest, and he never writes to me without saying something about Glen, a name, by the way, very dear to me, yet one that brings to my mind sad recollections. He writes: 'Glen says if Mr. Youngblood cannot find work for the millions of people engaged in the retail business he had better set a few million of them to digging holes in the ground and the rest to filling them up again. Perhaps the country can afford to keep one-third of the people at unnecessary and useless work, but we are not able to keep them at such work and at the same time have them continue to poison the whole human family with adulterated food.'

"It seems to me that Glen has completely answered the argument of the opposition. They admit that the work it now takes millions to perform will be done, if this bill is passed, by as many thousands. And the thousands will, it is well known, do the work better, a thousand times better. When they do this work we will know what we buy. In fact, I believe that the honest brand of the Government's big department-store company on the goods it sells will shortly drive all competition from the field, no matter whether they sell at a profit or at cost. People are willing to pay, but they want pure articles. To-day, from all your millions of unnecessary retail dealers, you can nowhere find unadulterated goods. We

buy sugar that is sand, coffee that is beans, butter that is bogus, woolens that grew on cotton plants or was found in dirty Italian ragbags. Shoddy, imitation, and fraud extend into every line of trade. The fierce tyrant of competition has made it necessary, and I assert that it has done little to elevate the morals of the millions for whom our friends plead. For their sake alone, I say, this miserable retail business as now conducted, completely soaked and saturated with fraud and petty cheating, should be stopped. If it is allowed to continue for a few generations more, with the lines of competition drawing more tightly each day, you will find that 'tricks of the trade' will become a part of the very being of the whole mercantile class. I say the whole class will gradually evolve into the 'cheating sheeny,' whom we all so loathe and detest. He is a growth and nothing else. His ancestors for generations have been engaged in tricky barter until the traits have become instilled into him; it has become a part of him; he inherits it, and can no more change 'than the leopard can change his spots.'

"To me it is a happy thought to know that the fate that most certainly awaits the great mercantile class under our competitive system is to be avoided by the overthrow of that system. Shakespeare says:

" 'Steal my purse and you steal trash; but take away my good name and you take that which all the world cannot restore to me.'

"Our friends are now pleading for the 'trash' of the mercantile class, forgetting entirely the good name that is most surely slipping away from them. It is possible that if this bill is defeated some people will leave more

of this world's goods to their heirs, but pass it and all will leave a richer inheritance, one not measurable in gold or silver—a good name; and, with other laws to follow, the ability to lead lives 'as pure as the driven snow,' by affording them opportunities to earn, with wholesome work, all this world's goods that heart can desire.

"I cannot here contend that the introduction of this great labor-saving machine (for that is all this bill is) will not displace some labor and depreciate some property. Inventions always have had this effect, and have likewise always met the opposition of the class whose labor would be displaced or whose property would be depreciated.

"The owner of the stage line and all his employes, together with the tavern keepers along the line, all made as logical arguments against the railroads as I have here heard against this bill. They said 'It would ruin the stage business; throw all the men therein employed out of work, "bust" the manufacturer of stage coaches, the innkeeper, etc.'

"The owner of the sailboats made the same argument against the steamboats, and so I might go on with an endless number of such instances. But we turned deaf ears to their talk; we doubted their sincerity and accepted all these inventions with glad hearts, and at a time when individuals were getting a large part of the benefit out of the saving which the new machine effected.

"Now every man is going to equally share the wonderful benefits in the way of saving labor that this great invention, this bill, proposes to put into operation. If an individual or a corporation was to get a large per cent

of the benefit, as in the case of all past inventions for saving labor, the argument of the opposition would have better ground to stand upon, but they don't. It is the people's; they share all the benefit without paying royalty to a living soul.

"This bill proposes to put into operation a great machine that will do the work and save the labor of millions, and that machine is not patented nor owned by any corporation or individual, but by all the people, who will reap all its benefits.

"Yet we find men who oppose it because it will depreciate property. Can it be possible these men are in earnest? The old grain cradle was made quite worthless by the hand-rake reaper, as was also the little factory for its manufacture, and the same can be said of the old hand rake when the self-rake came on; and again, of the harvester when the self-binder arrived. The same thing may be said of thousands of articles and of the factories for their manufacture. They become worthless, or practically so, because of new methods and improved machinery, and it has always been true that the greater the invention the greater the amount of property affected and depreciated in value. The fact that our friends of the opposition are able to picture such a wonderful displacement of labor and depreciation of property is good evidence of the wonders which this new method will perform.

"I want to ask a few questions. If the great Niagara Falls electric plant, that is assuming such wondrous proportions, is able in a few years to light and heat every home and furnish power for every factory in a radius of

a thousand miles at a trifling cost of labor (which is not at all improbable and may be looked for in the near future), would our friends say 'Shut off the flood gates; destroy this great plant, because it will shut up every coal mine in Pennsylvania, stop every oil well in the country, and throw tens of thousands of men out of employment'? They could say this, not only as to the men who mine coal and attend oil wells, but as to the thousands who were engaged in industries that may be called collateral to these, such as railway men who haul the coal used in operating factory engines; the men who make the machines used in the mining and in the oil industry; the men who make the cars and engines and keep them in repair; the men who build the roads and extra section men to keep them in repair; the men who, with teams and wagons, haul the coal from the cars to our homes and to the factories; and finally the men away out West who raise oats and corn for the thousands of teams that haul this coal.

"Not only would all these men be thrown out of work, but all the people who have been serving them have less to do; the merchant who sells them goods, the factory employe who makes the goods, and so on without end.

"What pictures of distress our friends could paint of the suffering coal miners. They would melt the heart of a stone god. And among the Hindoos, within the shadow of these same stone gods, their eloquence would be lauded to the skies, but not here. We long for the time when Niagara Falls can do all this work that now requires the labor of millions.

"Now, again, may I ask: Suppose our chemists should

discover (which they believe they will, and what they are looking for) a process by which we can make the finest bread out of earth, at a trifling cost; fix it so we could set the mills grinding it out of the mountain sides—would our friends say 'Stop the manufacture of this cheap dirt bread. You will close up every flour mill and displace untold labor, not only those who grind the wheat, but the thousands who make the mills and keep them in repair. You will not only throw these men out of work, but the millions who raise wheat, and the tens of thousands more who make the machinery to raise it—men who make the harvesters, the plows, the seeders, the harrows, the threshers, and finally the men who operate the roads, build them, and maintain them to haul this vast amount of machinery to the farm to raise wheat with, and the wheat, again, to the mills.'

"Oh! the suffering it would entail to save this vast amount of work. Again I can see the heartrending picture which the opposition could paint. Again I see the stone god's eyes fill with tears and trickle down his cheeks.

"Gentlemen, this talk of maintaining longer an institution or an industry that requires the labor of one-third of the human family, when we have discovered a great machine or a process by which a few hundred thousands can do it better, is nonsensical and unworthy of serious consideration. If we were going to patent a machine for, or grant a franchise to, a corporation that would displace millions of laborers, and if this corporation was to charge a profit or take a part of the benefit, it would be a different thing and be open to argument, because it might de-

mand a tribute equal to all the benefits the people would receive. But we are one great family, and we will soon be a happy family, whose main purpose is to produce as much as we can with the least outlay of labor possible. We want as much rest and leisure as possible. Rest never yet hurt anybody. Leisure never injured a person if there was a little wholesome work mixed in. I don't know as I would advocate the raining of manna again, but I do hate to do myself, or see people engaged in, hard work and drudgery. Perhaps I am a little like the 'hobo' who, while passing a church and hearing the Gospel hymns sung, said to 'Weary William,' his partner: 'Say, I was nearly converted by one of those songs once. It was "On the Other Side of Jordan there is Rest—Rest—Rest." When I first learned that the co-operative commonwealth meant more rest, rest, rest, I became an earnest advocate of it, and have been ever since.' By leisure only can we improve our minds and replenish our bodies."

Here Mr. Youngblood exclaimed: "Oh! It is lots of rest my friend wants! And would he have the Government support him while taking these protracted rests?"

"The Government might as well support my friend, Mr. Youngblood, and myself, in continuous rest as to keep me digging holes in the ground and him filling them up again," sarcastically replied Mr. Mishler; "and I think it would be better and cheaper for the Government, because we would not wear out so many clothes nor eat so heartily, and to keep us at such work is no different than requiring us to work at utterly useless oc-

cupations, which the retail business, as now conducted, has become.

"As to the Government supporting people in idleness, that is just what I am opposed to and want it to stop doing. 'If ye will not work, neither shall ye eat.' We are believers in that doctrine, and would rigidly apply it to all able-bodied men and women until advancing age entitles them to rest. Then the Government should support them. Our motto is 'Earn thy bread by the sweat of thy brow,' and how glad am I that we are rapidly passing the time when men shall earn their bread by the sweat of other people's brows. That kind of sweat was becoming too profuse; we had almost got to sweating blood, but, thank the Lord, the crisis was averted.

"Yes, the most of us need a little more leisure, and the way to get it is not to maintain useless industries, nor to permit the wasting of our strength or energy, which is the same as supporting people in continuous idleness. The labor of all these millions is made useless, and our friends are afraid if we have them quit this useless work we will find nothing useful for them to do.

"I said I could see nothing but visions sublime if this bill passes. Over ninety-five per cent of the people in the country would like a little more of the comforts of life in and about their homes. These millions whom our friends plead for have been at work for these very people. They paid them for their work. Now they will say, if this bill becomes a law: 'We don't need to have this work done any longer, so we'll set you to making furniture, painting and repairing the house, or perhaps building a new one.' There is no end to what they

could have them do. Oh! what an avalanche of good things all these millions of workers will turn out, especially when we consider the wonderful improvements in machinery to assist them, and they, whose labor this bill will displace, will have the satisfaction of knowing they are adding to the world's supply of valuables. In a little while, when we get this Niagara electric plant running, we will have all those oil and coal fellows before mentioned quit their dirty work (which they will do most gladly), take a bath, look like white men again, and engage in making all these good things too. Oh! if I could but paint the beautiful with such artistic skill as my friend Youngblood can picture the horrible.

"We'll have all these men work for us just the same as they worked for us before, but instead of doing things that are of no earthly use, we will have them making all these things to beautify our homes. What homes we will have! Little princely palaces; carpets and pictures and sofas and easy chairs; beds in which we can rest in comfort; clothes of which we will be proud. We will have libraries we never dreamed of, and, better still, time to read them. We will have amusements for the children which will make them love their homes. Now in my fancy I see ten million little boys and girls, who never dared hope for such a luxury, mount handsome bicycles —ten million happy hearts, ten million merry songsters. All these we will get and have by the same labor of our 'hired men,' if you please, whom we have very foolishly kept digging holes in the ground and filling them up again—i. e., operating the retail system. We paid their incomes and wages before, when they did that useless

work; can we not do it now when we have found better employment for them? Yes, indeed we can. This is no fairy picture, but all true. When our homes—twenty million cosy nests—are complete, we'll rest a little. After taking sufficient recreation what parks we will build—fragrant with flowers, beautiful with spraying fountains, merry by the songs of birds.

"And, best of all, the people will visit these earthly paradises. They will go to the South in the winter; they will visit the seashore in summer. They can all go to the uttermost parts of the world to see the sights and view its wonders. Our great warships will, before many years, be of no use except to carry the people wherever their pleasure may direct, and the thousands more ships that this great co-operative company of the people (the Government) will turn out will always be in use for that purpose.

"This is no fairy castle building. But a small per cent of the people are now engaged in productive industries, yet these few support all, and many have rolled in luxury. When all are engaged in productive enterprises the output will be simply fabulous. With but a few hours' work a day everything the mind can crave will be satisfied. Then there will be rest for all—leisure to improve the mind by study and by travel until we see every nook of the world.

"I have read from a letter from the old friend of Mr. Youngblood and myself. I want to read more. His nephew has been at work during the summer on the irrigation works which the Government has been for two

years constructing on the arid plains of the west. It reads:

" 'Glen says the great irrigation system is the grandest achievement of any nation in the world in all ages. He says the Government with a few thousand men, and such electric machinery as will be devised for planting and reaping, will soon raise all the wheat necessary to feed 200 million people. The labor cost of raising a thousand bushels will not be what it is now to raise one. Wheat and oats will become the sole food for cattle, and in a few years there will be grazing on the well-watered plains of the southwest under the care of a small regiment of "cattle soldiery"—Government herds, that in vastness and numbers will put the old buffalo herds of pioneer days (that used to stretch away as far as the eye could reach, and when in stampede would wreck trains and sound like the roll of thunder) to utter shame for their insignificance.'

"This young man (and I don't make light of his prophecy; I believe it) says the Government will soon raise all the wheat and meat needed to feed the people. Millions more people thrown out of employment, is it? Nay, not according to my school of political economy, but the labor of millions saved. Am I right? or will our friend paint more pictures of misery and suffering? Will the tears of the stone god never be dried?

"Now, gentlemen, this bill must pass, for the very reason that our friends of the opposition say it must not. It must pass so the millions engaged in the retail stores will seek other employment that is productive and useful to the people. We cannot afford to maintain this useless system and be longer poisoned with adulterated goods.

"The Government should start a scientific building department for the construction of more factories and the building of suitable habitations for all the people. It should be at all times ready to employ at good wages in productive industries every person who is by this bill thrown out of employment and seeks work. It can do it. The profits at which the factory goods will be turned over and charged up to the department-store company will give it billions of revenue every year with which to prosecute its building enterprises.

"The large number who will seek employment in the factory districts will necessitate extensive building, which can furnish employment for all who are not needed in the factories.

"All new factories and residences should be built at suitable places as regards healthfulness of climate and easy access to power and building material. Residences constructed on scientific principles, and on the wholesale plan, can be built at a trifling cost of labor compared to what it costs to build, as the building has been conducted in the past. And they will have every convenience; they will be palaces compared to the rookeries scattered over this land.

"As to the houses left vacant in the country towns, as Mr. Youngblood said, the people will gradually move into the better ones, and you will find the ones that are left permanently vacant have long been unfit for habitation, and ought to be abandoned and destroyed. And cheap car fare will enable large numbers to live in their country homes and work in Government factories some distance away, some returning each day, others once a

week for their two or three days' holiday, for no one will longer have to drudge sixty hours a week in a factory for a living. As to the vacant stores, make co-operative kitchens out of them. You will find that agricultural interests, in a majority of communities, will demand a better assortment of goods than ever before, and will call for Government sub-retail stations, which can be made to utilize many store buildings, as long as these buildings, at least, will last. There will be no great loss there.

"You will find, I think, that society will gradually adjust itself to the new system, and, as our worthy President said, that 'we are entering upon one of the grandest and most glorious eras in the history of the world.'"

The bill passed, and the Government department store directors were directed to conduct the stores at cost, after paying individual stockholders two per cent on their stock, and in an incredibly short time the stores were doing all the retail business of the whole country; the prophecy of Mr. Youngblood as to the decay of the little country village was well-nigh verified.

A bill to operate the Government factory companies in the same manner was voted down, and the directors were by law directed to charge a certain per cent profit, varying in different companies; that is, when goods were turned over to the department-store company, as it ordered them, it was charged a profit above the cost of manufacture. This was done because manufacturing was a productive industry. It was not believed that Government factory companies alone could supply the people with goods, and they wanted all other factories continued to help supply the demand, until all were

eventually consolidated with the Government companies. Another reason was, the Government wanted a large income or revenue to operate the building industry and the construction of public works and parks and pleasure resorts.

All the factory companies and the department stores ran smoothly. They were, as before shown, conducted under the same perfected system of the trusts and combines which had been in operation before the revolution. Under that system the Government could run these business enterprises as well as any company, and better, because it could more certainly punish neglect of duty or embezzlement on the part of employes.

Before the revolution an embezzling postmaster always went to the penitentiary, but a thieving conductor or railroad agent never. They never expected nor received any punishment but the loss of the position and a refunding of what the railroad could prove they took. For a passenger to cheat a railroad out of a fare and get a ride for nothing was scarcely a wrong in morals then; to-day it is larceny, punishable the same, but there are few offenders.

The progress of the country was marvelous. It overreached the expectations of the most sanguine. Peace had not been formally concluded with England, although practically so. There had been no more warfare. The United States army was nearly all disbanded, and the great military organization melted away almost in a night, there being no cause for its maintenance. England was ready to negotiate a treaty at any time. She had troubles enough without more war, but America de-

layed with a view of aiding the reform elements of that country.

It was plainly evident that the dynasties of all Europe must go down before the rising storm of popular indignation. Each country kept conceding more and more. Land rents were greatly reduced by law. Trusts were controlled or broken, and other sops were thrown out to alleviate a much-wronged people. But we cannot revert from the subject to describe the conditions in the Old World.

Mark Mishler was easily the foremost man in America, if not in the world. He had made a most exemplary Speaker of the House. His sturdy championing of the rights of the masses, his continuous fight to so shape everything as to form a successful co-operative commonwealth, in which every man would be equal, made him the idol of the common people.

In the fall of 1904 he was elected President in response to the universal popular demand. He was the logical candidate, especially since W. J. Bryan had at all times avowed he would have but one term; and it is at this time proper to chronicle an important incident in the life of the man to whom the people had become so much attached, and who was so closely associated with the revolution. As we have seen, Mr. Mishler's wife and two children had been sleeping in one grave and in one coffin down in his old home in Alabama since the great railroad wreck in which they all lost their lives. The sexton had always taken great pride in caring for the grave, for which he was well paid. Flowers bloomed about it from early spring until the autumn

frosts, and it was the prettiest one in all the little cemetery. It was located clear to the rear side of it, though, and next to a river. Between the river and cemetery a good deal of gravel had been taken out for street purposes, leaving a great excavation, extending to the line of the cemetery. On February 20, 1905, a great flood occurred, and the bend in the river carried the strong current almost directly against the fresh embankment on the back side of the cemetery; and the grave of Mr. Mishler's family was partly washed away, and the coffin broken. The sexton at once secured a new casket and had the remains of all three nicely laid away in a new grave. In writing to Mr. Mishler he, after his peculiar old-fashioned and, I might add, old-maidish way, went minutely and seemingly very improperly into all the details of the accident, even describing the condition of the remains. But how glad we are that he was an old fogy and had so poor an idea of delicacy and propriety in such matters!

"My God!" said Mr. Mishler, as he read his letter, "what does this mean? A bridge! My wife had not a false tooth in her head; they were like pearls, and as sound as steel." One sentence about the teeth unnerved him more than all the rest of the letter. He soon decided to have expert physicians exhume and carefully examine the remains, and so wrote the sexton, giving full directions what to do, and to have them report to him as soon as possible, and at Washington, if the report was not ready by March 1, 1905.

It was on the eve of his inauguration. Hundreds were clamoring for him. His time was wholly consumed

with business and visitors, but his mind would revert to that letter. "Could it be possible that it was not my wife and children? A hundred met death there at that awful catastrophe. The remains of my family could not be identified, except it was known they were on that train. They were nowhere to be found after the wreck, and the three charred corpses no one doubted were those of my family. There were but two children in the wreck, so there can be no mistake there. Possibly there was a mistake made, though, in the remains of my wife. Maybe she sleeps away from her children in an unmarked and neglected grave. This is awful to contemplate."

Such harassing thoughts kept running through his mind. Occupied as he was, nothing could prevent it.

The correspondence between Mr. Mishler and Glen in relation to the amendment that really caused the revolution had been made public by him after the amendment's approval, and Glen was given the full credit promised him. This gave him a nation-wide reputation at once, and he became a great hero among the people. He was made secretary of one of the Congressional Committees in the last session of the Congress of which Mr. Mishler was Speaker, and nothing but his age—which disqualified him—kept the labor unions of Chicago from electing him to Congress in 1904, when Mr. Mishler was elected President.

The secretaryship of his committee threw him much in the presence of Mr. Mishler. They became more than fast friends, which came near being strained, though, when Glen wanted to repay him the money for his education.

On Mr. Mishler's election to the Presidency he selected Glen as his private secretary, which duty he was to assume when the President took his seat. Glen, of course, would be at the inauguration ceremonies, and wrote for his father to come also, as he had never been in Washington, nor seen the man who, now about to be made President, had done so much for his son.

Glen was afraid his father's ill health would prevent his attendance, and was happily surprised on receiving a reply from his Uncle John saying they would all come—he and Aunt Jane, and his father; that his father's heart was set on it, and for weeks he had scarcely talked of anything else.

They went; Glen's father with the big envelope, still sealed with the red sealing-wax, in his pocket, arriving in Washington the morning of March 4th. They saw the parade and the new President, and heard his inaugural address. But Benjamin Brown, after talking of nothing else for months, now appeared not to see anything that took place. He heard the address, but knew nothing of what the President had said. He was apparently lost and bewildered. He hardly spoke or commented upon a thing he saw. He knew when the ceremonies were over, and when the President's party started through the great mob, for the White House. Then he said, "I want to see the President," and he repeated the request to Glen on reaching there.

"But it would not be right to encroach upon the President's time now, father," protested Glen, who, because of his position, knew he could get an audience for his father if necessary, even on inauguration day. Mr.

Brown insisted that he had business with the President, and finally Glen agreed if he would make it known in a note he would see that it reached the President. Glen was much surprised that his father did not ask him to write it, but got someone else to do so, and he was still more surprised at the importance with which the President treated the note (by ordering that his father be shown in at once), which read:

"President Mishler:

"I desire to see you for a moment concerning a matter that I believe to be of much importance to you.

Resp'y,

"BENJ. BROWN,
"Foster-Father of Glen Brown."

Mr. Brown entered, the President ran across the room, seized him by the hands, and without formal introduction excitedly said: "You say you are the foster-father of Glen. Do you know who his father is?"

Mr. Brown could hardly reply. He coughed and choked, but finally said: "I have but the word of a mentally unbalanced and crazed woman, his mother, who said his father's name was Mark Mishler."

The scene that followed cannot be described. The President acted more like a frantic person than the usually calm man that he was.

Mr. Brown continued: "There are many Benjamin Browns, and possibly many Mark Mishlers, so it may not be you, but I thought I must come and tell you. Glen is the most wonderful and the best boy I ever knew, and I think he must be your boy. He thinks I am his father. I love him as no father ever loved a boy, and it would almost kill me to have to

give him up; but ever since I first heard your name in a letter you wrote to my brother several years ago I have had a presentiment that he was your son. I had Brother John inquire, never letting him know why, and while he told me of the sad fate of your family I have still felt there was some mistake, and that he was your boy, especially when I think what a noble young man he is. I have often thought of the possibility of a mistake in identifying remains that have passed through a fire, and some time ago I came to the conclusion that this woman was driven insane by the very wreck my brother told me about, in which it was supposed your family lost their lives. Yet I did not know it. There was no proof. I might be suspected of being an imposter if I came to you with the story. I knew not what to do; finally I was driven to come and see you by constant brooding over it," and drawing the big envelope from his pocket, continued: "I brought with me the papers of adoption and a copy of the evidence of the woman's condition and appearance. She came to our town with two bright and beautiful children, a boy, Glen, and a little girl in her arms. Glen was two and one-half years old then, and it was twenty-two years ago the sixth of last June."

Here the President broke down, saying it was but two days after the terrible wreck.

Mr. Brown went on: "From where she came no one knew, and certainly she did not. She hardly knew more than her name, or her husband's name. I adopted the boy. He is Glen. He is all the world to me, and knows no other father. I was especially touched, because, over forty-five years ago, I had a little baby sister

kidnapped by the gypsies. (The President's eyes flashed.) "And this woman kept crying: 'Don't let the gypsies get my children.'"

President Mishler could restrain himself no longer. "She was my wife; she was your sister. There are many Jennie Browns, but only one who was ever kidnapped. Glen is my boy; he is your nephew," and he choked, unable to hardly speak, completely breaking down. But between his gasps he said: "Go, bring him to me. What has become of Jennie and little Ethel?"

Benjamin Brown, who, if he was not his father, found he was at least an uncle by blood to Glen, was too full to speak. After a while he said: "They disappeared as mysteriously as they came. She evaded the vigilance of the guard, and in about a week we learned that an unknown insane woman, with a little babe, answering her description, had drowned herself and child at Buffalo. I always supposed without doubt it was she."

"I see it all," said the President, with tears streaming down his cheeks. "As you say, that terrible wreck, with the agonizing cries of the dying, dethroned my poor wife's mind."

The report of the physician received by the President just before Mr. Brown called showed positively that none of the three were the remains of his family.

The President took out the report and said: "I surely would have been insane now if you had not come with this news just at this time."

Glen was then ushered into his presence and apprised of who he was. The scene again is indescribable. After

recovering himself the first thing Glen said, showing his devoted filial affection, was: "Am I to lose my old father?"

"No," said his father, the President; "your Uncle Benjamin will always live with us, and at the White House while we remain here."

On investigation, the evidence before the coroner, and the records in the case of the drowned woman at Buffalo showed beyond a doubt that she was in fact Mrs. Mishler. An account of her death, as well as of her appearance at the town where Benjamin Brown lived, was published through the Northern papers, but Mr. Mishler lived away in the South, and instead of reading newspapers at that time he was visiting the grave and mourning the loss of his whole family, as he supposed, and the matter never came to his notice.

CHAPTER XII.

That was the first time in the history of the country that the inauguration ceremonies were overshadowed by another occurrence or event of the same date. But this one was lost sight of almost entirely. The romance connected with the President and his son filled every paper and was on every tongue. The story was told and repeated with all-absorbing interest. The way in which the President had first become interested in Glen Brown, because the latter was able to foresee the future results of the Constitutional Convention; how the boy had interested his uncle, John Brown, then a member of the Illinois Legislature, in it; the fact that the President educated him for his name's sake, and because he was bright; that he inspired the amendment that really caused the revolution; that the President afterwards quoted him in Congress, and finally made him his private secretary, only to find that he was his own boy, whom he long supposed was dead—were stories that never grew tiresome.

Glen Mishler (for he now assumed that name) became almost as interesting a personage as his father, the President, himself, who, of course, greatly adored him.

Glen had greater influence with his father than any other person in the country, but he did not try to use it, except in one single instance. He was very proud of

the fact that his father quoted his prophecy in Congress, concerning the development of agriculture in the arid regions of the West, before he knew who he was. The papers especially commented on this peculiar incident, and the President was himself particularly pleased to think he happened to do so.

The work of constructing irrigation canals and ditches had begun to assume gigantic proportions before President Mishler's election. The Government had established experimental stations, or small farms, but on no extended scale. The land was taken out of the market, and could not be bought absolutely. Private ownership of land was contrary to the doctrine of all the radical leaders in the revolution, but the statute did provide for leases of indefinite terms, and one could occupy his land as long as the Government rental, which at first was trifling, was kept paid. But the rental was subject to change, as land values increased. This method did not suit a majority of the agriculturists, yet it did satisfy the people as a whole, who had seen their lands gobbled up by speculators, and it could not be changed.

Many of the farmers had become wedded to the old method of absolute title, and were slow to go onto the Government's irrigated lands, especially since they were not accustomed to irrigation, and did not understand its methods.

All these things operated to assist Glen in causing a policy to be inaugurated that would verify his prophecy. On this his heart was set, and he used all his influence to one purpose—i. e., to persuade his father to recommend the nationalizing of the agricultural industry. He was

finally successful. Probably it would have come later, but that the policy was at that time inaugurated was due solely to Glen Mishler.

The country at the time was full of Socialists, or Nationalists, of varying degrees of conviction, but the farm nearly everybody looked upon as the one thing that stood in the way of perfect Socialism or complete Nationalism.

The Government was successfully operating factories of every kind that supplied every want of the people; it ran the railway, the telephone, the telegraph, the express, the mines, the oil industry, the postoffice, the schools, the mints, etc. It was conducting every kind of business except the farm. That was the apparently unsurmountable stumbling block to further progress towards ideal Socialism. Socialists had never been able to explain how the farm could be socialized. The trusts and combines, as we have seen, paved the way in all other industries; but they never took largely to farming. These concerns had built the plants in all the other industries, and had devised the plans and perfected the system by which they were run, so that about all Uncle Sam had to do was to take the keys, step in, and keep the wheels rolling, as heretofore shown.

But when it came to running the farm little was found to begin operations with. The people could hardly see how they could put Uncle Sam, with his striped pantaloons and long-tailed, starry coat, to plowing the fields, sowing the seed, and harvesting the crops; to mowing away hay in the barn, and carrying slops to the pigs. These were things which apparently he could not do. The drudgery of the farm must ever be and most Social-

ists, or Nationalists, so believed even as late as the inauguration of President Mishler, in 1905.

Yet to-day we plainly see there was more wasted energy and misplaced labor on the farm than in any other single industry. The people used to complain of the robbery of the sugar trust on refined sugar, that only took from one-eighth to seven-eighths of a cent per pound, when they were maintaining a system for the production of the raw sugar that cost from four to five times as much as was necessary. Before the revolution they complained of robbery by the beef trust and flour trust, when [illegible] was only a mite compared to the unnecessary amount they had to pay for standing beef and wheat. Then no wrong or waste was seen in the method of producing the raw article.

To-day, when we see what were once whole farms, quarter-sections, sections, townships, counties, yea, whole States, lost in single fields of flowing grain, planted and reaped with electric machinery, with a few guiding hands; when we see herds of cattle that would almost require the little State of Rhode Island for a corral, we easily understand it. We see where energy was wasted in producing raw material. How was this done? How was the farm nationalized? The old competitive system, with private ownership and land speculation, had pushed the people off the good lands of high rents, and out into the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, and the arid States of the West. This was long before the revolution. They went there to make homes for themselves and their families, settling in a territory that was pictured on the early maps of the country as "the Great American Desert."

At times they prospered, but the ever-recurring drouth constantly blighted the country, and with it the hopes of the people.

Irrigation came to be much talked of. The principal methods proposed were artesian wells and storage reservoirs. Money and lands were appropriated by Congress and the different States to test the feasibility of these plans. Neither proved entirely successful, because inadequate to supply any considerable portion of the country. Where they did get water they had magic crops, and it educated the people to the benefits of irrigation, and kept the matter agitated. In this way the money was well expended.

The people learned that three-fifths of the agricultural products grown in the world were by irrigation; that their country, by topography, was the best suited to irrigation of any in the world; and that it was practically limitless. They saw that the waters of the Missouri were at hand to irrigate it, and only the hand of man was required to turn it onto the broad prairies, level as a floor, to make them blossom like the rose and become a veritable Garden of Eden.

The idea of damming the river, and by means of immense canals watering the whole country from a point hundreds of miles above Bismarck to the Rio Grande and Red River of the South, was hit upon, and in fact agreed upon, by practical engineers, as a feasible piece of engineering.

This was some years before the revolution, but it was not until then that work was instituted. The people learned that larger dams were then in existence than

would be necessary to build to divert all the water of the Missouri to irrigation, by raising it to the high plains along its banks.

In India there was a dam across the Godavery River nearly a mile long, and that is a deep, navigable stream. There they saw semi-civilized people accomplishing more for irrigation purposes than they would be required to do to reclaim this vast country. There was a dam across the River Furas, in France, 160 feet high and over 300 feet wide at the top.

They learned that irrigation was resorted to before the time of Solomon. Large portions of Arabia were reclaimed before the Christian era. One dam, made of ashlar, to hold water to irrigate the Valley Mareb, was two miles long and 120 feet high. Dams 100 feet high had been built in California, just before the revolution.

The people saw what they could do, and so went to work and built the dams and constructed the canals that constitute the wonderful system of irrigation now in vogue, and which inaugurated Socialism or Nationalism, and made it practicable, even on the farm.

An immense dam was constructed across the Missouri, in Montana, above the mouth of the Yellowstone, where the flow of water was comparatively small, a place where it was about 500 feet wide and could be forded. It was a great engineering feat, and expensive, yet one had been built across the river near Helena, Mont., in 1896, just for power purposes, and to build this one for irrigation purposes did not take twenty-five per cent of what had been expended by the Federal Government every year before 1896 on rivers and harbors.

A number of canals, side by side, sufficient to carry the entire flow, were constructed for some distance down the river bank, until the water, returning to the original channel, would not endanger nor undermine the big dam, and here immense electric power plants were constructed, similar to those long before built at Niagara Falls, and from them power was obtained to drive all the immense machines of which we shall hereafter speak.

When water for irrigation is needed the regular June rise, caused by the melting of the mountain snows, furnishes an abundance. When the water is switched through the great turbines to generate power to sow and again harvest the crop, it is not needed for irrigation purposes. In this wonderful arrangement the hand of Providence is seen by many. When the water is not all needed for either irrigation or generating power the big tunnels at the power plant are used for sluice gates.

From the power plant the canals run parallel with the general course of the river until Sheridan county, North Dakota, was reached; then a part of them were run almost directly east, and thence northeast, emptying into the Cheyenne River. The other canals run in a southerly direction, at various distances apart, on the highest points between the Missouri and Jim Rivers. One large one was carried across the Jim River above Jamestown, by means of a dam across that stream, making a vast reservoir or lake above the dam. It was then run east to the high plains, and then south towards Bell Rapids and Sioux Falls.

By means of these canals nearly the whole country in North and South Dakota, east of the Missouri, was wa-

tered. Branch canals were run from the larger ones to both the Missouri and Jim Rivers, and these were again intersected by smaller ones.

The building of this system of canals was more expensive than the dam, but immense machines, operated by steam and electricity, made the task comparatively easy. The demand brought forth the machines. It is well known that the excavating in the great Chicago drainage canal was not half so costly when it was being finished as when work was begun. The demand in that short period, on that one canal, brought forth the improvements. All these improvements were at hand when work was commenced on the irrigation system, but the shallow canals in the easily worked soil of Dakota are not to be compared, as regards difficulty of construction, to the great Chicago drainage canal, with its mammoth proportions. There they had to go down to a great depth to get sufficient fall. In the Dakota canals they had to be shallow, so the water would run out into the little side canals, and there was no object in going deep, as they had plenty of surface and could easily spread out and make a series of shallow small canals, side by side.

It is not believed that the whole system east of the Missouri, with the wonderful machines for the work, cost as much as the Chicago drainage canal alone. The building of the small intersecting canals soon became easy. With the demand came immense steam machines that would throw out the dirt as easily as a plow would turn a furrow.

The Cheyenne was dammed at suitable intervals, as it curved around into the Red River of the North, and

all the great wheat country of the North was easily irrigated by a series of canals fed at the dams. It will be remembered that a part of the canals from the Missouri emptied into the Cheyenne River, which formerly was nearly always dry.

This system even, saying nothing of that west of the Missouri, was not entirely completed when President Mishler was inaugurated; and, as stated, the people were not rapidly moving onto the Government's irrigated lands.

There was quite a demand for their sale to settlers, or the re-enactment of the homestead laws, that the lands might be occupied. They had been largely settled before the revolution, but the drouth drove the settlers out, and a large part of the territory covered by the portion of the system first constructed had reverted to the Government by failure to complete title, or to the State for non-payment of taxes.

Of course there was a large part of this country into which the first system finally extended that was well settled and produced good crops without irrigation, but people all welcomed the water.

Glen Mishler used his influence, and was able to get his father to oppose the opening of any land held by the Government for settlement, but got him to recommend the nationalization of the wheat fields.

Congress acted upon his recommendation, and the Government began the wheat culture. The country being so level and well adapted to cultivation by steam or electric machinery, a very plausible argument could be made in favor of it, especially in view of the wonderful

benefits that had accrued to the people through the nationalization of the other industries. As a result, long years have passed since a single bushel of wheat has been raised by individual enterprise. The Government raises it all. It can raise wheat and grind it into flour for a bare pittance of what it cost the people to raise it before the revolution and the nationalization of the wheat fields.

The farm machinery of an Iowa or Dakota farm in 1898—plow, harrow, self-binder, etc.—is as much out of place there now as the old Egyptian plow itself; and almost as much of a curiosity. And the plowing they did! They laughed at the old Egyptian method of plowing; we now have to laugh at their methods in 1898.

The plows of to-day fairly pulverize the ground to ashes, mixing fertilizers everywhere through it. Great machines plow, pulverize, fertilize, sow the seed, and make a small irrigation ditch for water to flow in—all at the same time. They are driven by electricity, which is generated by the great power plant at the dam.

At seed time, when the water cannot be used in irrigating, it is sent through immense turbines, operating great dynamos, and not allowed to enter the canals. And the same thing is again done at harvest time.

The great machines go with the speed of a roadster, plowing and sowing strips 100 feet wide at a time. They will cover fifty miles in a day of twelve hours, but they know no night. These machines, like railway trains, are too great to stop for darkness; yet darkness never overtakes them. With the fading of the sun a button is touched, and the electric lights begin to glimmer, mak-

ing the nights as bright around the machines as day; and it indeed presents a beautiful spectacle on a dark night to see these fiery stars skimming the earth as far as the eye can see in every direction.

The sowing season is sixteen days, and one machine cutting a strip of 100 feet, and traveling 100 miles, will in twenty-four hours sow 1,250 acres, or 20,000 acres in the sixteen days, or a season. There are about 360,000 acres in an average county of Iowa and Dakota, as laid out in 1898. We have now, however, little or no use for county subdivisions, and county lines are obliterated.

It takes eighteen of these machines to sow an old county (which now constitutes about one farm) to wheat, as is easily seen by a resort to figures. With ten men to a machine, for shifting forces, relief, etc., it takes 180 men to sow to wheat what was a whole county; but if they worked as hard as people did in 1898 it would not require one-half the number.

Wheat, as now irrigated and fertilized, yields on an average forty bushels per acre, which makes about fifteen million bushels for which 180 men do the seed-time work in sixteen days.

Our population is now 200,000,000, and our annual consumption of wheat for breadstuffs is about 750,000,000 bushels, which is raised on an acreage equal to about forty of the old county subdivisions and requires the labor of 9,000 men sixteen days to plant. The same number required to do the seeding cannot harvest the crop, because they cannot deliver the crop to the elevators. Immense machines, that will cover as much ground in a day as the seeding machines, head and thresh

the grain at the same time.* They are driven by the electricity generated at the big dam. Great wagons—regular cars—drawn by electric motors, catch the wheat as it drops from the thresher spout, and when full they are driven to the elevators, where a slide is pulled, opening a spout at the bottom of the car, so the wheat runs out and the load is thus conducted without work into the elevator hopper, when electricity again takes a laboring oar and cleans and elevates the grain into great bins. Lately, great indestructible steel fireproof and airtight towers are being used, resembling water stand pipes. These first came into use before the revolution, about 1897. All air is exhausted from them, making them a perfect vacuum. Then the grain is forced into them by hydraulic pressure, and they are sealed up. The grain will then keep in perfect condition for any number of years.

As stated, a machine will cut a swath 100 feet wide, and such a strip thirty miles long (which is about the average length of a farm) will yield about 15,000 bushels of grain. To haul this amount from the machine to the elevator requires many wheat cars. There are usually about five cars to one motor, making a neat little train. Each train is calculated to carry about 1,000 bushels, which is about thirty-two tons, or a little over six tons to the car. The number of these trains to catch and deliver the grain from one heading and threshing machine varies with the length of the field, but usually six will answer the purpose. Two or three men can operate a train. The harvesting season is shorter

*Steam headers and threshers were in operation in 1897 that would cut a swath fifty-two feet wide.

than the seeding, and they usually aim to have nearly twice as many harvesting as seeding machines on a farm. About the same number of men are required to run each; hence in operating both the machines and the wheat cars it takes from 800 to 1,000 men to harvest and store an old subdivision county of wheat, 360,000 acres yielding 15,000,000 bushels. To do this requires from eight to ten days; thus it takes about 40,000 men to harvest the Nation's wheat of 750,000,000 bushels, on fifty farms. Of course, a much smaller force would do it if necessary. It takes more labor now to haul the wheat in the wheat trains from the machines than to do all the other work of seeding and harvesting.

Before the nationalization of the wheat farms the hauling was but a trifling part of the work. Everything was considered done when they reached that point; yet with their methods fifty teams and men could not haul what one field train will now. The most work now in raising the wheat is in turning on the water and properly flooding the fields. But this has become a science, and experts, more distinguished than Cabinet officers of old, with the perfect arrangement they have of the main ditches and canals, with perfect flood gates and meter gauges, do the work quite easily and with complete success. The ground is flooded but once, and in the Dakota fields this is found entirely sufficient to mature the crops. The ground there holds the moisture as no other soil in the world; in fact, a few showers at the right time matured the crops before the Government began the wheat culture, and when irrigation had not been inaugurated. But now the moisture in that country is

much greater. All the canals and cross canals are kept full all the time the wheat is growing, and there are any number of little artificial reservoirs. Wherever a canal crosses a ravine or gully a dam is thrown across the lower side and the water is allowed to back up on the upper side. All of these, with the canals, make an immense surface of water, onto which the boiling sun pours down constantly from an almost cloudless sky. This makes an enormous evaporation, which, with the cool nights, at once covers all the wheat fields with wonderfully heavy dews, almost equal to a rain. This has made Dakota the grandest and most noted wheat-producing country in the world.

The proposition of the President to begin wheat culture, as we now see it conducted with the enormous machines, was not, even at first, looked upon by the people as a fairy's dream, but as an entirely practical undertaking. And why should it not have been? They had engines and locomotives in use then of a much greater horse-power than would be necessary to drive the great machines used in the wheat fields of to-day. They knew they could make these engines run over the dry, hard, level fields of Dakota, even if they had to make the wheel tires fifty feet wide and the wheels the same distance in diameter. They knew these engines could be made just as strong, powerful and heavy as they desired to make them. The only reason railway locomotives were not heavier was because it cost so much to make trestles and bridges to carry them over streams and ravines; but the wheat-field engines would not have to go over such places. They were not going to sow wheat on bridges, but on the level prairies of Dakota.

When first proposed, the Government wheat farm received the enthusiastic support of a great many people. It soon became a regular institution, operated by the trust-devised system of superintendent and Directory Boards, of which much has already been said in connection with the methods of conducting other gigantic enterprises. The Secretary of Agriculture is at the head of the enterprise, and the Congressional Committee on Agriculture, the members of which are usually on the Directory Board, is one of the most important of any in the estimation of the people.

Yet the method of operating the Government wheat farms is very simple. The different fields are all numbered of record. Each farm has its superintendent, and each machine thereon its foreman. The railroads are still used, as far as possible, and the farms parallel them, which makes them vary in size considerably, and leaves them in somewhat irregular shape. But whatever the size, the records show just how large they are; exactly how they lie; how many canals and irrigation ditches there are, and in what direction they run, etc. In fact, there is a perfect diagram on file, showing canals, ditches, elevation, and everything. The records show how many elevators or steel bins and how many cachines of each kind there are on every farm, with the number of each machine. These records show who the superintendent of each farm is, who is the foreman of each machine, and also his assistants for operating it.

An examination of these records will enable anyone to tell all about any of these wheat farms. The superintendent is required to make regular reports to the department, on printed blanks provided for the purpose, bearing upon

every phase of the farm. Beginning with the seeding season, a daily record is kept and short report made, showing the amount of work done each day, and the condition of the fields, crops, etc. Each machine foreman also keeps a record of the work of his machine. The monthly report of the superintendent is more exhaustive, and the annual one is a complete record, in specially prepared blank books, of the whole business done—the acreage, yield, men employed, the condition of the farm and of each machine, and everything else imaginable.

The Secretary of Agriculture has his assistants, whose duty it is to drop around, uninvited, and see that things are running properly; and the Congressional Committee on wheat culture is authorized to do the same, acting independently of the Secretary. But it is found unnecessary to do much of this work. It is indeed a wonderful system by which the wheat farms are run, and yet simple, too. The reports from all farms are compiled every day, and these records will show just how much wheat was planted each day during the season, in the whole country. In harvest time they show exactly how many acres are reaped; and here there can be no mistake. The threshers each have automatic tally boxes, as do also the elevator hoppers. The grain is all measured by the machines themselves twice. When the crops are all planted these records will show Farm No. —, Machine No. —, to No. —, housed in machine sheds, and a report on a printed blank will be on file, among the records of each farm, by each machine foreman, showing exactly the condition of every bolt and shaft in his machine, and what will be needed, if anything, in the way of repairs, before

starting it again; and the same process is again gone through at harvest time.

It is plain to be seen that the cost of raising wheat this way can be but a trifle—a few cents at the most—per bushel. But it has not been sold to the people at cost. The Government has varied the price only as the markets of the world have varied, which has been from twenty-five cents to thirty-five cents per bushel; that is, the flour has been sold at a price that made the wheat bring that much. This gave the Government an enormous revenue from this source, besides its profits from manufacturing industries of every kind. It was seen that in no place in the world could wheat be raised at so small an expenditure of labor as in our wheat fields, which, when all our own wants were supplied, would not be half nor a quarter developed.

It has been seen that fifty farmers, equal to that number of counties, or half the area of South Dakota, would supply our wants of 750 million bushels. Now, business principles plainly showed that we should develop the balance of our territory, and raise as much of the world's wheat supply as possible; and exchange it for the products of other countries, that we could not raise so easily.

As soon as the first small crop was raised by the Government, and it was learned how cheap wheat could be raised, before we even one-tenth part supplied our needs, the President recommended that the whole wheat country should be developed and irrigated, with a view of raising the whole world's wheat supply, if possible.

As a result, work was begun in 1907 on a great dam across the Missouri, below the point where it receives the waters of the Yellowstone, and a series of canals was ex-

tended therefrom along the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, on to the Platte, in Nebraska, and finally to the Rio Grande itself. But before it reached there it was not to develop a wheat, but a stock, country. Only the first or upper part of the system was used for irrigating wheat lands, from which billions of bushels are raised for export.

As in the irrigation system east of the Missouri, wherever the canals crossed a stream, or the bed of one, a dam was constructed on the lower side, and the water backed up above. This made many artificial reservoirs or lakes along the whole extent of that country, and they entirely stopped the hot winds that had before come from over the hot sands.

Since the full development of our wheat fields the Government has received from 250 to 500 million dollars' revenue a year from the profits on the sale of the surplus wheat crop to foreign countries, aside from the home profit.

In selling the wheat the cost of production was never considered; it was always sold at the highest price that could be had, and the price it sold for in foreign countries was the price at home.

The making of so great a profit from the people was simply indirect taxation, a way of raising a vast revenue, with which other great improvements were carried on by the Government.

CHAPTER XIII.

We cannot speak of all the enterprises conducted by the people through the Government, nor review the evolution of events that led up to the Government's control, nor the details, which vary little in the different enterprises, of its method of management.

The details of the old system of competition could never be explained. The intricacies of the old Treasury, Postoffice or Interior Department were never understood by the people. It took volumes to write the history of a single one—the minute details of the old methods of business, the stock exchange, the clearing-house, etc., were never understood by the common people. They had no time to waste on such matters. The details of the present methods of business are simple compared to those of the displaced system; but in one short volume they cannot be crowded, nor would they be of interest if they were. At any rate, details are of little import compared to the principles on which a business or Government is based. If the principle is right the details will easily be arranged.

The principle of the old competitive system was wrong; that of the present co-operative Socialistic system is right. With the former everything was "helter-skelter." Producers were an industrial mob, without a guiding hand or head. With the present everything is

methodical. Producers are organized and disciplined bands of co-workers. There is exactly as much difference in their ability to produce as there is between the "fighting capacity of the trained and disciplined army and the unorganized mob."

The watering of the great, dry plains of the southwest and the foothills of the Rockies made pastures that would have caused visions of wealth untold to float before the eyes of the stockmen and cowboys of 1898. The plains, when almost barren deserts, made great fortunes for cattle men, and immense herds—numbered by the tens of thousands—ran on single ranches.

With water on these plains making the very best feeding grounds in the world, capable of raising beef, mutton, and wool for all the people, was it practicable to raise stock in the cold winter States of the North, where cattle and sheep must be fed half the year, and great expense incurred in sheltering and caring for them in winter? No, of course not: and they ceased to be raised there. They could not raise cattle and sheep and compete with the country that had no winter, but had green grass the whole year, and by keeping on the water it was kept growing all the time.

Would the people turn these pastures over to private individuals and corporations, that they might raise another crop of millionaires? NO! Not in 1909, the year the canals reached there, and the first year of Mark Mishler's second term as President.

The people (the Government) also engaged in the cattle and sheep business. Cattle farms were made fifty miles square, containing 1,600,000 acres. Allowing four

acres for one animal, this would make 400,000 cattle on a farm fully stocked. Fences of the most substantial kinds separated and surrounded these farms, many being of woven wire, from six to eight feet high, with heavy posts every six feet. The sheep farms were made half as large, for not half the acreage is required for a sheep as for a cow or steer, and so there were about 500,000 sheep on one of these farms, when fully stocked.

These sheep and cattle ranches are run the same as the wheat farms, and records are kept in the same manner. A superintendent has charge, and a small force of men are constantly riding through the herds, looking after and caring for them. Shade barns and salt vats are scattered promiscuously over the ranch, and the cattle are always scattered over the whole range. The sheep do not scatter so much. The fences about the sheep ranches are wolf and coyote tight, thus doing away with danger from these animals. Small irrigation ditches run very thick across these feeding grounds. There is no regular time for flooding them. Some of it is being flooded all the time. Lately some of the ranches have been divided into four equal fields, and the stock is turned from one to the other, giving the fields a chance to rest and allow the grass to grow better.

When ranges become limited, if they ever do, this method will be generally adopted.

Farthest to the North, near the wheat fields and flour mills, are the beef-fattening pastures, where the cattle are prepared for slaughter. In the shorts from the flour mills alone there is an immense amount of cattle feed, and the Government easily raises sufficient other feed, as we shall see, to fatten them. It slaughters some grass-

fed beef; some that run in large pastures and are just fed a little, and other fancy-fed, that is, kept off grass, in closed pens, and fattened entirely on hay and ground feed, oats and shorts. No corn is raised. The cultivation of it is too laborious. The Government can raise 1,000 bushels of wheat or oats as easily as one bushel of corn. It has raised all the beef, mutton, and wool for some years, for all the people, and, as we well know, at a trifling expenditure of labor.

The sheep-shearers are especially worthy of mention. Apparatus developed and evolved from the old-fashioned livery stable horse shearer enables two men to shear with incredible rapidity.

No place in the world can raise beef, mutton, and wool equal to the United States on the well-watered pastures above described. So, as in the wheat culture, this industry has been developed as fully as possible, and from the profits on the vast amounts exported, as well as that used at home, the Government again derives a very large revenue, which it also expends employing displaced labor in making public improvements, etc.

Aside from these cattle and sheep farms in the Southwest, the Government also has its dairy farms, from which all the butter for the whole country is obtained.

The dairy farm is a small enclosure, four miles square, fenced into four fields, into which the cows are alternately turned. The milking barns, creamery, and all the apparatus of the dairy are located in the center of the farm, where the four fields corner. Two thousand cows are kept on each of these farms. Twenty-five men conduct them under the charge of a superintendent, as all

Government institutions are run. The cows are all stanchioned and milked in a big barn, as they always were in the old-fashioned dairy. The milking is done by a machine invented in 1896.

These very dairy farms were in existence before the revolution. The first one of importance, to my knowledge, was started by Hon. Hiram C. Wheeler, who was the Republican candidate in Iowa for Governor against Horace Boies the second time the latter was elected. Mr. Wheeler conducted a large farm in Iowa, and in 1896 sold it and started a dairy farm of 10,000 acres with a herd of 1,000 cows a few miles from Galveston, Texas. His cows were all milked by this milking machine, with which one man can milk 100 in an hour. Many small dairies used them in 1897. The milk came from the cow perfectly clean, which was impossible under the old way. To think of a man sitting down and pulling a cow's teats now is amusing indeed; it is one of the best features, and most enjoyed by the young people, in the new play, "Olden Times," which is having such a run, but which need not be described because everyone is familiar with it.

These dairy farms all adjoin the mammoth stock farms; the calves from a dozen of the former are transferred to one of the big ranches, a careful record being kept of every one.

Let us return to the big farms for a moment, to see how these calves are cared for. On the big farms, next to the line of dairy farms, are small fields, varying in size from one to three miles square, and in these the cows of the big ranch are kept during the calving season. As they have their calves an extra calf from the dairy farm

is put with and made to suckle each cow, for a strong cow can easily raise two calves. They are kept first in the smaller fields with the calves for one week, or until they know their mothers or the cows they are to follow; then they are turned into the larger fields and finally onto the big ranch itself, when they are able to shift for themselves and live partly on grass. Calves raised in this way are always as fat and slick as seals. They grow very fast, and when taken from the cow, at from five to eight months old, are very large. The calves of 1898, that never followed the cow, were not to be compared with what we have now. This method of raising calves has wonderfully improved the grade of all our cattle. The number necessary to supply the veal market is taken from the largest calves, following the cows, on the big ranches. When it is time to take the calves from the cows the whole herd on the ranch is started for the side next the dairy farms, where the small fields are, where the calves were at first kept. It takes 200 or more "cowboys" to make this "round-up," and requires three days to do it.

The headquarters of the stock farm is a regular little village, in a lovely park, with fountains and blooming flowers, and one monstrous hotel with wide verandas, roomy halls, and a tall tower, from which the great herds of which Glen Mishler prophesied can be seen grazing in every direction, as far as powerful field glasses can reach, until the cattle come to be but dots upon the green meadows. It is located at one side of the big ranches, next to the line of dairy farms, among the small fields before mentioned.

The big force of cowboys, increased for the occasion,

start from here early in the morning and ride all day, reaching the opposite side of the big ranch, fifty miles away, at night. Here they camp in the old cowboy fashion, by simply rolling up in a blanket and stretching out on the ground. The next day they all start for the other side of the ranch, driving all the cattle before them. Two days are required for the trip and getting all the cattle corralled in the small fields.

The corral on a big stock ranch is an important event, widely published through the papers, and looked upon with interest by all the people. The total number of visitors on these occasions at all the big farms amounts to hundreds of thousands every year. Visitors fill all the quarters on the ranch and on all the dairy farms near by; some remain in the berths of their sleeping cars, which are sidetracked at the ranch station, and others camp out in tents. The genus "tenderfoot" apply by the hundreds for horses to accompany the "cowboys" the whole trip in the "round-up," and they have great sport with them. Men, women, and children go out to come in on the second-day drive. The herds by that time are assuming monstrous proportions, and the excitement and enjoyment, to one who has never been in a cattle drive, is intense. The people come out to meet the advancing herds of tens of thousands on horseback, on bicycles, in electric carriages, etc. As they near the headquarters and small fields at the close of the second day's drive they see before them a regular sea of cattle. One thinks that, instead of requiring hundreds of such farms to supply meat for the nation, one alone would do it. It is a grand sight, and has many times been pic-

tured by the ablest writers in the land. Everybody now expects to some day see and take part in a "round-up" on one of the big stock ranches.

But the most interesting part of all comes when the cattle are all in the small fields, and they begin to separate the calves and the cattle that will be transferred to the other pastures from those that will be turned back onto the range again. There is some danger in it. There have been stampedes that swept every fence before them, resulting in loss of life and the cattle all returning to the big ranch, to be again corralled, which was then indeed a dangerous undertaking. This has not often happened, yet there is always more or less trouble in separating the cattle. The prettiest sight of all is when the calves are all separated and put in a field by themselves. Their glossy coats fairly shine in the sun, and the ten to twenty thousand in a bunch, as they scamper and gambol over the meadows, make a very pretty picture.

The calves, then, are separated again, the males from the females, and transferred to other big ranches like the one from which they have just been taken, but on which there will be no cattle except calves of the same age and sex. A careful and exact report is made of the number of calves thus transferred. Sometimes new farms are made to receive the calves, and again they are sent to an old farm from which the herds have just been taken to the slaughter pens.

The increase stock of calves from the big farms will stock several new farms with males and with females each year. There are farms now on which there are

400,000 steers of the same age. A pretty sight! And they will make a great amount of beef at a nominal cost.

Railroads run along the lines of the dairy farms and the big ranches, and the calves and cattle are all shipped from one farm to another by rail. It takes train after train to transfer the calves from a single big ranch. Cattle-raising has indeed become a science.

The dairy farms form a parallel line next to the big stock ranches, so the new-born calves can be easily transferred to them.

Next to the line of dairy farms comes a row of swine farms, then another row of dairy farms, and after that a row of big stock ranches. Thus, in a territory about 110 miles wide, we find five lines of farms.

The swine farms are conducted on the same plan as the stock and dairy farms, yet they are a sort of an auxiliary to the latter, being located next to them because of the milk from the creameries, which is all piped from two lines of dairy farms to the swine farms in the center. Shorts and cooked feed are sometimes mixed with the milk, and often hogs are fattened on grass, together with milk from the cream separator.

In "olden times" it was always amusing to hear the farmers call their hogs. There were different calls, but the hog soon learned they meant dinner time, and with a "boo, boo" he would start on a run, with a continuous squeal, for the feeding grounds.

The swine farms are now too big to enable hogs to hear by calling, so the steam whistle was at first used. At a regular time, twice a day, it called up the hogs, and they soon learned what it meant, and were on hand, but the

punctuality with which it blew soon caused them to anticipate the whistle and be on hand ahead of time. It is not necessary to blow it any more. Anyone who says a "porker" cannot tell the time of day is not proficient in "hogology."

The Government, in this scientific way of swine-breeding, easily supplies the pork market at a very low cost for labor expended, and finds again that pork is a great source of revenue and an important factor in export trade. Aside from the cattle, sheep, hog, and dairy farms, the Government has its deer, antelope, elk, and buffalo farms. The same kind of enclosures for raising domestic animals suffice for the breeding of these semi-wild ones. Venison is now served with nearly as much regularity as beef, mutton or pork.

Now we have seen that all the wheat, beef, pork, mutton, wool, and butter necessary to feed all the people in the nation, aside from millions of dollars' worth for export, are raised and produced on Government farms at a trifling cost of labor, and on what were almost barren plains, and wholly unsettled, before the Government accomplished their irrigation. When we see this, is it necessary to say that all the agricultural regions in the country, with the possible exception of the cotton and sugar sections of the South, have become depopulated? With occupation gone, and no way of making a livelihood, the little farmer, like the retail merchant, must seek other avocations. The agriculturist has been displaced by a better system, an improved method, a new invention. We found the farmer had been wasting his time in a useless avocation. He, too, had been "digging

holes in the ground and filling them up again." He was found, all of a sudden, to be as much behind the times as the old grain-cradle, or the self-rake reaper, which he regarded contemptuously.

The retail merchant could not compete with Uncle Sam's big store, and hence he had to quit business and enter the employ of the kind old gentleman as a clerk or factory hand. The farmer found he could not compete with the big farm Uncle Sam was running. He likewise had to quit the farm, for he could not rent, sell, or give it away, because it would not pay even the taxes, which kept up while everything else went down. The tax collector and county officers were always the last citizens to leave a community. Oh, what an outrage, when these worthy (?) fellows could no longer collect their salaries, and had to close the old courthouse doors, pack their gripsacks and leave the community while they could find the way out, and strike for the scenes of advancing civilization. Their agony must have been heartrending if anyone had been at the little county seat to witness them. They had always been hangers-on to the county's apron-strings and the Socialistic branch of our institutions. But now, how they denounced the socializing of all industries, as the overthrowing and uprooting of society. The tax collector believed that old ways should have been continued, so he could work collecting taxes; the recorder thought he ought to keep on copying deeds and mortgages; the auditor wished he could still occupy himself auditing "poor-relief" bills; and the clerk of the courts wanted the farmers to quarrel over line fences and the pigs getting into the corn that he

might find continual work keeping a record of their difficulties. "We have passed the zenith," they said, "and are on the downward scale of civilization; the old system was the grandest ever attained, and you know there was no complexity of details in it, like the present system of socialism." And with great deliberation one of them proceeded to write "THE RISE and FALL of the GREAT REPUBLIC."

But to return to the farmer, who had, himself, become a sort of little parasite. His fate really did seem hard. Conditions were so changed he could not accustom himself to them. He was lost in the rapidly-evolving state of society. This was particularly the case with the well-to-do farmer, the man who came West when the country was new and bought cheap Government land. He was a foremost citizen in the community. He was rich compared to those who had arrived on the scene too late to get the Government lands. He could rent his land for twice the amount per year that he paid for it fifty years before. He had a fair income, which he supposed he got from property he had produced. But he was a parasite, too. He never believed it, however, when, in the early days of the revolution, he twitted the little retail merchant with being one. He came ahead of the rest, and, as more people came on and increased the demand for land, the richer he became, not by anything he did, but by the outgrowth of the community. As his riches came, so they fled. As people left the community and drifted toward the Government residence and manufacturing centers, the demand for his land decreased, and as the demand decreased the value of it depreciated.

And when they were all gone, and there was no demand for land, it had no value. The people came and made him rich, honored, and respected. They went away and left him poor again. In this predicament he would look around and say: "I thought I had become rich by the fruits of my own labor, but I find I did not; I have still all this land that I had when I started in life. True, of late years I have taken life easier than many were able to do; I did little work, and lived on my rents that this land—now worthless—earned. But for years I did work like a slave. I have raised crops enough to feed an army, and all I have to show for it are these old buildings on the farms; I had the farm before I raised a bushel of grain. The crops I raised did not make land values, but I did not see that. While my land was rising in value, because the country was settling up, I was contented and satisfied; I supposed I was getting rich, and I was foolish enough to believe it was the fruits of my own labor, but I see my error now. Those fruits I never got; they went into the granaries of the millionaire trusts and combines during all those years. And, like them, I grew rich in a small way, because I was also a parasite on society and fattened on the product of others' labor and not my own."

Many a philosophic old farmer saw it thus. Their land was worthless, and, like the middlemen, their avocation was gone; they must seek employment at the hands of Uncle Sam. They did so, but at such royal salaries that they smiled again, and now we had the deserted country as well as the deserted village. Excepting in the large manufacturing towns and residence cities, especially de-

sirably located for habitation, all the great agricultural states were deserted. In fact, no one lived in the country.

We have already seen that all the little villages dependent upon the farmer were deserted long before the farm was. So we find, in 1910, whole States, that but ten years before had been thickly populated, almost wholly depopulated, excepting in their big manufacturing towns. People had seen whole counties in the drouth days in Western Kansas and Nebraska deserted, but they never expected to see the tables turned and this territory became an Eden, and whole counties within one hundred miles of Chicago, New York, Philadelphia and Boston deserted. But it was true, and it all came about in a few short years. The loss of property by the country being abandoned in the way of farm buildings and improvements, especially in the West, was not so great as one would suppose. There were hundreds of counties in the Mississippi Valley that, aside from the courthouses, did not have an indestructible or permanent building in them. None of their buildings, with constant repairing, could last more than a few short years or decades at the most, and when left and deserted without care or attention they soon were gone.

This abandonment of the country left Uncle Sam free to extend the limits of his big farms amazingly. It was thought at first that steam and electric machinery could not advantageously be used in farming outside of the level, irrigated plains of the West, because of the sloughs and wet places that everywhere prevailed in the Mississippi Valley; but in this the people were again mistaken.

The sloughs and low lands were drained and tilled by immense machinery at a trifling cost, until now the great electric machines travel and cultivate the great prairies of Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota and Missouri as easily as they ever did the Dakota plains, and now we find tired philosophers who say all the labor of making the irrigation system in the arid region was wasted! It was supposed, again, that crops could not be raised in this section so advantageously as in the semi-arid west, because the grain never could be cut and threshed at the same time by one machine The grain should be "shocked" and left to dry in the sun before it could be threshed, and no one would do that kind of work except at an enormous figure, it was said.

It was supposed, also, that Uncle Sam would never cut hay to feed his steers, but would raise enough wheat so he could fatten them on shorts. That was cheaper than putting up hay, "because it must lay and dry in the sun," and there was no way of "making hay" that would not be too slow for the world at the pace it was moving. But, ah! the rays of old Sol have been put to shame as far as this particular phase of "haymaking" and drying grain preparatory to threshing is concerned.

The oats, barley and wheat are conducted, by the huge machine that cuts them, from the sickle for about 100 feet over an immense hot-air apparatus, until, when received at the thresher at the rear of the machine, they are in prime condition, more thoroughly and evenly dried than the sun's rays were ever able to do it.

Then the grain, when threshed, drops from the thresher spout into the great grain cars used on the Dakota

wheat farms and is then hauled to the elevators. If the threshed grain should not be dry enough to put in the elevators it goes through another drying apparatus until thoroughly prepared for storage.

Hay is dried in the same manner. When it leaves the sickle it is torn to pieces and separated after the manner of the old-fashioned "tedder" and is then carried over great drying concerns; when it reaches the rear end of the machine, ready to be forced by hydraulic pressure into the balers, it is as dry and as thoroughly cured as hay ever was by the sun. The bales of hay are dropped onto great cars similar to wheat cars, which carry them to the railway trains, where they are again loaded and shipped to the feeding grounds. It is found easier to bring the cattle to the hay fields of Illinois than to take the hay to the cattle, especially since the cattle would have to be shipped back again to the East, to the great residence and manufacturing centers. As a consequence there are many feeding grounds in Illinois and other states of the Mississippi Valley, where hundreds of thousands of beeves are fattened every year, after being shipped from the pastures of the west.

Thus we see that the labor cost of farming in every branch has been reduced as much as in wheat raising. And not only has labor been minimized on the farm proper but in the production of all garden fruits and vegetables. The change in the gardening methods has been as great as on the farm, in the production of wheat, meat, wool and butter. The peach, apple and plum orchards, the potato, cabbage and other vegetable farms on the irrigated plains of Kansas and other sections of the

arid west are marvels to behold. They are conducted and operated by the government, the same as other farming industries. Of course machinery cannot do as great a percentage of the work in gardening and fruit-growing as in farming, but it does an enormous amount compared to the old methods. The ground, for instance, is always plowed and prepared by electric machinery. Potatoes and nearly all vegetables are kept clear of insects and also partly cultivated by electric devices of different kinds. Turnips and potatoes are dug and sorted and cabbages are harvested by machinery. Orchards are cultivated in part and sprayed when needed, mostly by machinery. One man can now, with the appliances in use on the Government fruit and vegetable farms, produce more than a hundred men formerly did, but in spite of this there is much manual labor needed. There are more men engaged in these than in all the other farming industries combined. The Government gardens and orchards are no less interesting than the big farms and cattle ranches. The work of operating them is indeed more scientific, and hundreds of thousands of people visit these places every year, and as many are employed during the fruit-gathering season. A view of the great orchards, miles upon miles in extent, is delightful, especially when in bloom, and when the fragrant perfumes are wafted by the gentle breezes for miles around. Indeed, when the breeze is right, the mammoth plum orchards can be scented long distances away. Between every row of trees runs a little water ditch, by which the orchards are irrigated.

The bearing capacity of the trees is only limited by

the strength of the limbs to sustain the weight. They are frequently propped up and the fruit sometimes has to be knocked off to save the trees.

Next in importance to Uncle Sam's orchards and gardens come his great poultry farms If any one had prophesied in 1898 that in ten years Uncle Sam would be raising chickens and caring for old setting hens, the people would have smiled. He does it, but not that way. He incubates his chickens by the millions. How did this come about? The superintendents of the wheat farms each year estimated in their reports the amount of wheat wasted or destroyed from various causes. Every report mentioned the grasshopper and the cricket, and every year so much wheat was charged up to "grasshoppers and crickets."

It remained for Glen Mishler to again suggest a scheme to his father, the President. "Let us feed these things to the chickens and turkeys," he said. That was where the great poultry farms started. They are run in conjunction with the wheat, oat, and barley farms. For three months the old fowls live entirely on insects in the grain fields. The henneries are located near the elevators and the headquarters on the different farms. They are built and the poultry cared for in a scientific manner. They are miles and miles in extent, and warmer than many Dakota residences formerly were. The whole south side of the roof (for every hennery runs east and west) is made of glass, and the reflected rays of the sun make them very comfortable in winter. Running the whole length of these buildings are chicken-tight pens. Here in the yard and building the fowls are kept in the fall and winter, when they cannot pick outside.

Poultry raising has become a science, too, and no mean industry. By proper feeding the hens lay a good deal in the warm sheds in winter. These eggs are put on the market. Those gathered for two or three weeks in the spring, before the poultry is let onto the fields, are incubated, and millions upon millions of chickens and turkeys are thus hatched every year. These are not let out of the big yard until half-grown, and then they are fed a little every day. The lack of feed in the fields drives the old fowls back to the henneries in the fall, and there always come with them millions of half-grown chickens, second litters of the old hens' own raising, without the assistance of incubators.

Pigeons (the domestic dove) are sheltered and fed, and the eggs incubated. The pigeon farm has also become a regularly and scientifically conducted industry with Uncle Sam. The pigeon barns are located in the grain fields also, and under the protecting care of the Government the flocks have multiplied, until, in places, they fairly darken the sky as they fly overhead, and look like a wavering, fleeting cloud when seen away in the distance. They are raised for their flesh, which is delicious, and which has become no insignificant part of the Nation's meat supply. The poultry is slaughtered and prepared for market in the winter season. Machinery again plays an important part. We heard in olden times of "cyclones picking chickens," and from that idea an invention arose for this purpose, the principle being a heavy blast of wind from a sort of bellows. Thus the dirty job of "picking chickens" by hand has also been consigned to oblivion, and is now a lost art.

Another source of supplying the people with delicious meats has not been neglected by the Government. That is the fish industry. For years in the nineteenth century fish hatcheries were maintained. The Government then hatched the fish and stocked streams, but there the matter ended. The service has become much more perfect now. The fish are raised for market now in many lakes and streams, and are fed as regularly as the Government feeds its cattle. The great salmon fisheries of the Columbia are valued as highly and the fish are fed and cared for as well as are the herds on the plains. It is strange that it took the people so long to learn that fish could not be propagated with great success when unfed and made to live, like cannibals, on each other.

In "Caesar's Column" Donnelly said "there is food enough in the seas to sustain the human family if properly farmed." He was not far amiss.

Notwithstanding Uncle Sam extended his meadow and grain fields wonderfully as the old agricultural regions were abandoned, there has always been left unoccupied and untilled a limitless amount of territory. Lands rich and fertile, which a few years before were coveted and prized as men valued their lives, were allowed to again become a wilderness. In these regions wild game multiplied with amazing rapidity. The day-dreams of sportsmen are now realities, and everybody is a sportsman, too. The woods of the whole country have become infested with deer, bear, antelope, elk, and large and small game of all kinds. The forests of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, especially, abound with deer, and frequently great herds come bounding into many of the large cities

of these States before they realize they are off their feeding grounds. The cold winter of a few years ago killed off so many of these animals that Government feeding sheds were established for them. Along the leading lines of railway, which are still maintained through the wilderness and forest, are built sheds and feeding racks into which are unloaded from the cars tens of thousands of tons of hay, the bales simply being broken open when thrown into them. The Government gets ample compensation for feeding the game. Once a year there is a deer round-up. In different places, where they are most plentiful, two lines of strong woven wire fences have been built, V-shape, each about twenty-five miles long. At the time of the round-up a great number of men on horseback (sometimes several thousand, as there are always an overabundance anxious to join the chase) are formed into a line about 100 miles long, and the same distance from the V-shaped fence, and start towards it, beating the woods with dogs everywhere before them. The men at the ends of the line are required to ride the fastest, and gradually shorten the line by bearing towards the center. The line finally assumes the form of a half-circle, the ends striking the ends of the V-shaped fence. The great herds flee before the excited horsemen until at last they are within the lines of the fence and being driven towards the apex and into the trap.

These round-ups bring in thousands of wolves and other game as well as deer, and the excitement of the chase is beyond the power of words to describe. The round-ups are on Government account, and form an important item of the revenue; yet, while game laws are

stringent, the people are allowed to hunt and fish on their own account during certain seasons. Every one has become a sportsman, for the opportunities for such recreation are unlimited, and "Recreation," a sportsman's magazine hardly known in the nineteenth century, is now published by the Government, and found in nearly every household.

In the rambles of the hunter, deserted and decaying villages are constantly found. Deer have many times been shot browsing in the shade of the courthouses of what, but a few years ago, were thickly settled and populous counties.

One of these hunting parties, in which the President and Glen participated, in 1910, somewhere in the upper Mississippi Valley, came one day to a deserted village of some size, and at some little distance to the side of it was seen a monstrous stone structure that would be no discredit to the present style of architecture. Desirous of ascertaining what it had been, Glen and his father left the rest of the party and went to see it. The President finally concluded it had been an asylum for the insane, as there were barred and grated windows found in one part. They rambled about the grounds and sat down to rest themselves in the shade in what appeared to be a little cemetery, probably for the inmates, as there were but a few graves, and the stones were all of uniform size. The President became suddenly startled. To Glen, who anxiously asked what was the trouble, he could say nothing for a time, but pointed to a stone near by which was moss-covered and overgrown by vines, but plainly showed

the words, "Jane Mishler, Died Feb. 18, 1886, Age Unknown."

As he recovered himself he said: "Died in an asylum, unknown and unclaimed by relatives! Glen, that is your mother's grave. Where is your sister?"

CHAPTER XIV.

In 1896 it was estimated by competent authority that there were enough men idle and unemployed to duplicate every line of railway in the United States in a single year. This was when the old competitive system, with its waste of energy and labor, was in vogue. It was when the myriad of little retail stores were still in existence; when the retail shoe stores alone, in the United States, would line both sides of a street fifty miles long, if all were placed side by side. It was at a time when a large majority of the people were scattered all over the country, producing the agricultural products required to feed the nation. It was when tens of thousands of men were employed in what is now an obsolete industry, that of digging coal or chopping wood for fuel, and as many more operating or building railroads in what are now wildernesses, and which are of little use to the people. So we see, for every man who was then idle, there were hundreds more who, with the system of production and distribution we now have, might as well have been idle; they, too, were engaged in useless and nonproductive industries.

If the comparatively few men who were in enforced idleness in 1896 could have produced so much if put to work, what could all their brothers, who were wasting their time in useless industries, have produced, if they

were put to work also, in useful and productive industries? The answer is, the wonders all about us. The nineteenth century witnessed changes and improvements greater than eighteen centuries before that time. People during portions of that period supposed there never could be another such an era of change and advancement. But in this way they were mistaken. The first ten years of the twentieth century witnessed greater things than all the preceding ones.

We cannot describe the great Government factories, for the manufacture of everything, nor explain their workings, further than to say those of ante-revolution days, great as they were, are but children's playhouses compared with what we now have. Yet they are operated by the same system that prevailed in them and also in the great department stores and mammoth hotels before the revolution. They turn out goods with marvelous rapidity, and when we know what they can do, and realize that all the people, by virtue of Government ownership and operation, are co-operative shareholders in these gigantic concerns, we little wonder that the words "poverty, want and hunger" are now hardly a part of our vocabulary, having become nearly obsolete. And that these immense concerns can thus turn out goods is not surprising when we remember what they could do away back before the revolution.

In 1889 a Lynn shoe factory, for instance, made a pair of lady's boots in twenty-four minutes. Of this a Scribner's Magazine article on "Great Businesses" said: "A notary public followed the operation, watch in hand. For this feat the shoes went through the usual routine of

the shop, but at exceptional speed. Fifty-seven different operations, and forty-two machines, were concerned in the work, which required twenty-six pieces of leather, fourteen pieces of cloth, twenty-four buttons, twenty-four buttonholes, eighty tacks, twenty nails, two box toes, two steel shanks, and twenty yards of thread.

"Since that time the division of labor upon a pair of shoes has become still greater, and there are a larger number of machines employed, with the result that a pair of lady's boots can now (1896) be made complete, in this factory, inside of twenty minutes." In 1897 they were made in Belden, Mich. in seventeen minutes.

How long can it take now to make a pair of children's common shoes, not lady's fancy prize boots? And does one suppose children could want for shoes? No, nor not in 1889, if they and their parents had been co-operative shareholders in the Lynn factories, through Government ownership and operation.

To show how easy it is now for the Government to successfully operate the factories, we will quote again from this same article, and see how well the corporation-operated factory was conducted in 1896:

"In all factory work it is essential to have as complete a system of checks upon defective work as possible, especially since the opposition of the unions to improved machinery has made payment by the piece obligatory.

"In the cotton mills of to-day more than seventy per cent of the hands are paid by the piece; in shoe factories ninety per cent; and in paper mills sixty per cent. The visitor to any big cotton mill will notice that the spools of yarn from the spinners all bear a colored chalk mark,

and so on, from first to last, every piece of work bearing a mark, sometimes red, sometimes blue, all the colors and shades of the rainbow being used, and often two colors together. By this means each piece can be traced back. The weaver who finds that the yarn is defective in the spinning has only to examine the chalk mark on the spool to find out who spun it, and so on through the whole operation, till the finished piece of goods reaches the packer.

"In shoe factories another system is followed, no order for less than a case, or sixty pairs of shoes, being taken. The case is considered the unit, and a blank order sheet is made out for every case, bearing upon the quality of leather to be used, the size and style of the shoe, and a dozen or twenty directions as to the minor details. This blank follows this particular sixty pairs of shoes from the man who cuts out the leather to the man who counts and packs the finished shoes. As each operator gets through with his particular work upon that case of shoes, he signs the blank and passes it on. If, a month later, a shoe is sent back as defective in any part, the superintendent can trace the defect back to the particular workman, and tell on what day and at what hour the work was done."

The article further says: "The factories of 1997 will make wonders of which we have no conception." The prophecy was correct, except as to the date. They do it now, in much less than a quarter of a century, and but a very small per cent of the people can be kept busy in the enormous factories to supply every want of all the people. How could it be otherwise, when one person

could make a pair of fancy shoes in seventeen minutes back in 1896? What was true as to shoes was also true as to everything else. Everything was even then made with almost equal dexterity.

Marvelous as was the operation of the factory at that time, it is more so now. Even then a very small per cent of the whole people were engaged in the factories. They easily supplied the demand, and factories were being constantly closed because there was what they called overproduction. There was more produced than people could buy, but never more than they wanted, needed, and would have bought if they could have earned wages enough to purchase it. There was overproduction of wheat, when the people were living on johnnycake; of coal, when farmers' families were freezing and burning corn for fuel; of lumber, when everybody wanted better houses, and cattle were being frozen to death by the blast of winter. There was overproduction of shoes, of woolens, of clothing of every kind, when everybody wanted and needed more of all these things, and tens of thousands of men, women and little children were ill clad; were even barefooted and had not a warm garment to cover their bodies in the coldest days of winter. Factories were closed because of overproduction of goods, when tens of thousands were dying from exposure because of the lack of them. There was always an overproduction of carpets, rugs, furniture, books, and all that goes to make homes pleasant, when millions of homes were without carpets, or rugs, or musical instruments, or sufficient furniture, books, or anything else to make life worth living.

The people have long since earned sufficient so they can have all the luxuries that beautify the home and make life cheerful, aside from all the substantial necessities. This at once wonderfully increased the consumption of goods, and enormously multiplied the demand on the factories. Yet, with ever-improving methods and machines, a very small per cent of the people are still able to operate the factories.

We have already seen how few were required to run the farm and produce the wheat, beef, pork, mutton, wool, etc., needed by the nation. What did all the rest of the people—eighty-five to ninety per cent of them—do? one might ask, if he had not been here to witness the great transformation that has taken place.

They built the great cities and public works, which are the marvel of the age. It seems incredible that in so short a time the people could have accomplished so much, but immediately following the revolution they worked much harder and longer hours than they do now. They had been accustomed to hard and constant work, when it could be found, and at that time, when there was work for all, at wages a large majority never dreamed of receiving, they continued the old habits, to the injury and impairment of health and comfort, and it was indeed hard for many to break away from them. They all saw, too, what their work was accomplishing, and they appeared to want to discipline themselves for the time they had been wasting; the old incentive of gain urged all on to greater endeavor. The Government built houses for rent and for sale, and hundreds of thousands of people who never even hoped to be able to own a home and stop paying rent

now saw that a few years' labor would earn them one in a regular park-like district.

It seems incredible, as stated before, that the people could do so much building, yet when we remember how many millions of them were taken from useless and non-productive industries and set at this work, we are not so much astonished. Our amazement also lessens when we remember what a few could do before the revolution; when we think how the great sky-scrapers of the big cities were then erected; when we recall the fact that the great "White City" sprang up almost in a night, and went down again as quickly! And think of it! Before ten per cent of the people who were taxed to build it ever saw it, and the small per cent who did see it were robbed by railroads operated by their own sufferance, and under charters of the people's granting. What a study those times present! "Nero fiddled while Rome burned," but then seventy million people "fiddled" while their pockets were constantly being picked, and, stranger than all, by their own license; and while they were thus being gulled and robbed.they stood viewing the wonders of the World's Fair with mouth and eyes wide open, saying with great awe, "Indeed, what wonderful, wonderful people we are. The zenith of civilization has been reached." None of the laboring class, the people who built it, outside of Chicago, were able to see the "White City," and if they had tried there was little advantage in riding on the cars, over walking, if they were accustomed to walking. This statement seems strange, yet it is quite true. A laborer could then earn one dollar per day, so one day's labor would earn a thirty-three-mile ride on the

cars, as the fare was three cents per mile, and any good walker ought to cover over thirty-three miles per day. The only advantage in favor of the "wonderful railroads that have done so much for mankind" is that it was less fatiguing to ride and the expense for shoe leather and board was smaller in traveling long distances. The very fact that there was so little choice for the laborer from the standpoint of economy, between walking and riding on the cars, is enough to condemn the whole system of ante-revolution days, and make us want to mob the magmates who thus helped enthrall the people of that day. Yet their conduct performed its service. It helped to awaken the people.

To-day the great "White City," built of marble, stone, porcelain, tile, brick, and steel, is a permanent institution, and by reasonable railway fares brought to the very doors of every citizen of the Republic, and compared to which the original "White City" was a "county fair and pumpkin exhibit," and Central, Hyde, Lincoln, and other parks of 1897 are made to look commonplace, indeed.

Describe that city? Ditto Heaven. Count the stars; it cannot be done. But millions of people visit it free of charge every year and there find enjoyment and instruction. The "High School" of observatories is there located. (The primaries are found in cities everywhere above one hundred thousand, and there are none smaller.) To-day the children are all better astronomers than the college professors of two decades ago.

We have spoken of the people being "set to work," of their having "little to do," etc. That these terms may not be misunderstood by people unfamiliar with our in-

stitutions, and especially the younger members of society, it should be said that no one is ever "set to work" by peremptory orders, as under the old system men were summoned to serve as witnesses or jurors in a court, but people work now for the same reason they always did, because they want to enjoy the necessaries, the comforts and luxuries of life. People work much or little as they desire more or less of these things. The plain necessaries of life now cost but little, but be it ever so little no one can get them without work, if they are able to work; if not, they are supported for the same reasons President Mishler gave in his interview before quoted.

The expense of travel, in railway fare etc., is very small, but free passes, so abundant under private control of railways, are never given, and the fare, no matter how small, must be paid, and everybody must work to get the money to do it with. And this all are more than willing to do; we have seen that those who would be content with the plain necessaries of life must, in buying them, add considerably to the revenue of the Government, as shown by the profit in the factories and in the production of wheat, pork, beef, mutton, wool, etc. This immense revenue all must help provide, and the Government expends it, keeping the millions employed in public works that have made our nation the grandest in the world. So, if any were indisposed from choice, they are compelled, from the Government's method of raising revenues, to assist in the great public works.

Other nations have followed rapidly in the trend, until to-day nearly every civilized government is an almost complete co-operative commonwealth. The common

people forced the governing power to it, and the treaty of peace that was finally negotiated between the United States and England compelled that country to accede to the demands of the common people, of whom J. Keir Hardie was representative. Established in the United States and partially in England, as the plutocrats saw, it swept over every country in Europe and drove most of the obstructing dynasties off their thrones. The change and progress in those countries since the inception have been well-nigh as great as in our own. From a half-starved, famished people there have arisen nations in which contentment reigns and hunger and want are now unknown. The change is so great that they think the millennium has already nearly come.

And how could there be want in a co-operative commonwealth, with all the improved methods, machinery and inventions to aid man in ministering to his wants? The semi-civilized people of Peru, under the rule of the Incas, the great historian, Prescott, tells us, did as much, and they had no machinery of any kind scarcely to aid them. With the naked hands of a semi-savage race they performed all their wonders, not even having discovered or put iron to their use. Theirs was a perfect co-operative commonwealth, complete in all its details. Nearly everything was owned in common, or by the Incas, and all the producing classes (there was a blood-sucking nobility) shared alike, as the great Bellamy political party, true to Glen Mishler's prophecy, now advocates with such promise of success.

Prescott says of that people: "No man could be rich, no man could be poor, in Peru; but all might enjoy, and

did enjoy, a competence. Ambition, avarice, the love of change, the morbid spirit of discontent, those passions which most agitate the minds of men, found no place in the bosom of the Peruvian. * * * Those who may distrust the accounts of Peruvian industry will have their doubts removed by a visit to that country. The traveler still meets with memorials of the past; remains of temples, palaces, fortresses, terraced mountains, great military roads, aqueducts and other public works * * * astonish him by their number, the massive character of the material and the grandeur of the design. Among them perhaps the most remarkable are the great roads * * * conducted over pathless sierras buried in snow. Galleries were cut for leagues through living rock. Rivers were crossed by means of bridges that swung suspended in the air. Precipices were scaled by stairways hewn out of the native bed. Ravines of hideous depths were filled with solid masonry. In short, all the difficulties that beset a wild and mountainous region, and which might appall the most courageous engineer of modern times, were encountered and successfully overcome."

He explains how agriculture was carried on, and a part (the lands of the Incas) were tilled in common by all the people.

"At break of day they were summoned together by proclamation from some neighboring tower or eminence, and all the inhabitants of the district—men, women, and children—appeared dressed in their gayest apparel * * * as if for some great jubilee. They went through the labor of the day with the same joyous spirit, chanting their popular ballads. * * *

"A similar arrangement prevailed with respect to the different manufactures. * * * The flocks * * * were scattered over the different provinces, entrusted to the care of experienced shepherds, who conducted them to different pastures according to the change of the season. * * * The regulations for the care and breeding of these flocks were prescribed with great minuteness, and with a sagacity that excited the admiration of the Spaniards. * * * At the appointed season they were all sheared, and the wool deposited in the public granaries. It was then dealt out to each family in such quantities as sufficed for its wants. The quantity of the cloth needed, as well as the peculiar kind and quality of the fabric, was first determined at Cuzco. They did not leave the matter here, but entered the dwellings from time to time and saw that the work was faithfully executed."

Of the state of society Prescott continues: "No spendthrift could waste his substance in riotous luxury. No adventurous schemer could impoverish his family by the spirit of speculation. No mendicant was tolerated in Peru. When a man was reduced to poverty by misfortune (it could hardly be by fault) the arm of the law was stretched out to minister relief; not the stinted relief of private charity, nor that which is doled out drop by drop, as it were, from the frozen reservoirs of the parish; but in generous measure, bringing no humiliation to the subject of it, and placing him on a level with the rest of his countrymen."

This is the history by that eminent authority of the co-operative commonwealth of Peru as it existed at the

time of the discovery of America. It numbered its subjects by the millions, and its domain extended nearly the whole length of the Pacific coast of South America. Had it not been for gunpowder, which they had not invented yet, and for a religious superstition that caused them to believe the Spaniards to be superhuman, they probably would not have been conquered. Their civilization was in its infancy as compared to the European, and probably no people in the world ever made such rapid progress after lapsing out of barbarism as did the Peruvians. But we need not cite Peru to show what can be done by a co-operative commonwealth. The statistics of ante-revolution days show that three hours' work per day by all the people would more than supply all with all the necessary and reasonable luxuries of life, if all worked at productive employment. In fact, Peru could derive little benefit by the co-operative commonwealth with her crude methods of production. It is when production becomes magical by the use of improved machinery and invention that the co-operative commonwealth is able to so greatly benefit the people; but then it becomes a necessity. We were not ripe for it until the mechanical age had overturned all the old methods of production and distribution in the latter part of the nineteenth century. When that was done it became an absolute necessity. If the people, through the Government, were not to be owners and operators of the magical methods and means of production and distribution, then they must be the slaves and hirelings of the owners of them. There was no escape from this conclusion. The people acted on it, and became the owners, by becoming stockhold-

ers in this greatest of all stock companies, and it was little different in principle from being a stockholder in any of the little private stock companies before the revolution.

All these great changes have been inaugurated legally and lawfully, without riot or anarchy, but simply by the people asserting their rights and their constitutional authority to change the fundamental and basic laws (the Constitution) of their country. The idea of the great common people, the bulwark of the nation, ever having been oppressed seems strange. They were, but they were their own oppressors. They had but to see the light and they quickly followed it.

For a time the principal occupation of all the people who had been engaged in non-productive industries, or what had become obsolete, was in building homes for themselves, as they came to the manufacturing centers from the numberless decaying villages and, later, the abandoned farms.

Long before the revolution a contractor, operating a half-dozen hands, would build a half-dozen houses in one season, much above the average, costing from $2,000 to $4,000 each. This is one house for each man. Of course this did not represent the material. But whoever has visited a big sawmill of even 1896, and knows how rapidly lumber is made, and is acquainted with the fact that at that time iron, in the Superior iron districts, was mined by steam shovels, being scooped by machines from the mines direct onto the cars at but a few cents' cost per ton; and further remembers how easily steel is made from iron, and how, with the wire-nail machines,

a man could, in one day, make enough nails to build many houses—when we remember these things we must conclude that the actual labor cost of the material in a house, even in 1897, was not great. The trouble then was that Rockefeller owned the great Superior iron mines in which the steam shovel took the place of the miner—and he took the latter's wages. The miner was thrown out of work, but the people had to pay his wages just the same (to Rockefeller).

Vampires of lesser suction owned the pineries and the lumber mills, and controlled the lumber trust, the wire-nail trust, etc., that produced the material which entered into the house. With all these fellows choked off, how easy it would have been to build a home, before the revolution, even! But how much easier now! We can show this by an illustration of the old methods. If a contractor could build one house at, say, $3,000, how much less each could he have built one hundred, one thousand, or ten thousand of exactly the same kind of houses? The question needs no answer. We all know that, in building that number, machinery could and would be used for turning out and making nearly every piece, until a house could be put up and fitted together like a piece of mechanism, with very little work compared to the old method where a man undertook to build a single house.

This is the way building is done now. Of the small residences a large portion of the work is done almost wholly by machinery, until houses are put together like children's block houses. We have spoken of how easily and cheaply iron was mined in what used to be the old

Rockefeller mines, which the Government now, of course, owns. Further improvements have been made until iron is produced at an insignificant cost of labor per ton. It enters very largely into the building of the small residences, as well as the large apartment houses and other mammoth public buildings; and wherever iron is used in building it is simply raised by derricks and bolted together, as it always has been, each part having its place, and fitting together like an iron bridge. The labor cost is little. Hence it is easy to see how the people provided themselves with homes, when we understand the wonderful increase in the productive power of labor when building is undertaken on the wholesale plan, and by a systematic method. To effect this wonderful saving it is not necessary for all houses to be alike; tens of thousands might be alike, and yet the dissimilarity in the whole would be great indeed. There are designs enough to suit the taste of all, and yet all are built in such numbers as to effect the saving above mentioned. Regular Government building corps do the building. The Government builds and charges a nominal rental, or sells at cost to the occupant, as desired. It requires but small endeavor now to get a home. Every one is free to build as he likes. A factory employe can take a vacation, employ labor on his own account, and build according to his notion. He can always get the material of the Government at about cost, or he can go to the building bureau, select his plans, and have the Government construct it; or there are always houses of every conceivable design already built somewhere that can be bought or rented.

These countless residences surround all the big cities of ante-revolution days. The different parts are always spoken of as the old and the new towns. The wide park-like streets of the new are very different from the old ones, which are gradually succumbing to the new; old buildings being torn down and destroyed, because they have become worthless eyesores.

The great solid blocks of business houses in all the big old cities have largely become Government warehouses for the storage of the Government factory products. Some great residence centers have sprung up in what are naturally the most beautiful parts of the country, away from old cities. A winter residence district has been made in the magnolia forests of Mississippi, near where the old town of Magnolia stood. This city, or residence district, is many miles in extent, and is one of the most beautiful spots in the world. Swamps, marshes and ravines were filled; all trees except magnolias were taken out; and to-day it is a world-wide winter resort. It is one great park, filled with sparkling fountains, with miles and miles of green lawn, fragrant flowers, and blooming magnolias, amid which are promiscuously scattered fine residences, mammoth tenements, and hotels among the broad winding drives and walks. The followers of King C. Gillette are building his ideal big city near Niagara Falls. Buildings have been erected almost identical with those monster structures he pictured in "Human Drift," long before the revolution, and while they will not be able to attract all the people they will make a grand city, and it is now one of the most interesting places in the country.

The tenements and great hotels in all the large cities have roomy apartments, broad verandas, and pleasant surroundings. All these institutions are run by the Government by the same system (with natural improvements, of course) in vogue before the revolution. There is no law to prevent a private party from running one or any other business if he desires. All are perfectly free to do so. But if one big trust was running all the hotels, factories, or institutions in any line of business, even before the revolution, a private party, of limited means, would hesitate about trying to compete, and especially now, when the Government is operating business at cost, which it is largely doing.

So the Government has become the sole operator of every line of business, and is at all times ready to employ all who ask work, and as long as they desire it. Practically the plan of Bellamy in his ideal state of society, as pictured in "Looking Backward," is sometimes followed when any line of goods is overstocked. The line that receives all surplus is the public improvement bureau for the construction of parks, drives, theaters, museums, and other institutions for the engagement and instruction of the people. The work of this kind performed is wonderful, and hundreds of thousands of foreigners are employed by the Government on its public works. This is the only way we can now settle our trade balances. We export so much more of wool, wheat, beef, pork, etc. (which we have seen is easily produced), than we can possibly consume of foreign products in exchange, that we would have had to curtail our production for export had not this method of settling trade balances been hit upon;

and this, notwithstanding that nearly all of our sugar and cotton are now produced abroad. Our sugar is largely produced in Cuba and the West Indies, where it is a more natural product and can be more advantageously produced than here, and most of our cotton is grown in Egypt or in Mexico, where it grows much more luxuriantly, and where the cotton plant lives for several years, and does not each year have to spring from the seed, as in the United States. The production of our sugar and cotton abroad thus completes the abandonment of the farming districts in the United States.

As we have already seen, all other farm products are now produced on the great Government ranches.

What grand boulevards all the labor that was formerly expended on the public highways that stretched away over every square mile of the country, before the revolution, would have made if expended on the limited territory now occupied by the people!—especially with the appliances for making superior roadbeds now in use. Less labor than was then put on highways now makes a magnificent boulevard of every street in all the cities, and connects them all together aside from the railway communications between them.

Besides connecting the cities, these great boulevards extend to points of interest in the country everywhere; to nature's beautiful nooks; to fishing and hunting grounds; to the great Government farms, gardens, orchards, and pastures. Among the many such roads is one that crosses the great pastures and wheat fields to the great National Park, always beautiful and grand, but now truly deserving of the name it bears. From here it

extends on to the Pacific and the Yosemite Valley. Other roads extend to the great watering places on the seacoast, of which there are thousands, and which are able to accommodate millions of people; to the sunny climes of the South; to the great magnolia residence district; and into old Mexico, Panama, and old Peru, with all their varied beauty and interesting monuments of antiquated history.

The magnificent roadways that traverse the continent and delve into the wilds of what were once well-populated, but are now wilderness, districts, are the paths of the motorcycle, of which there are millions affording recreation and enjoyment to the people, as they spin from one end of the country to the other, with half the speed of a railway train. In pleasure seeking the people prefer them to the railways. Every family, if not every member of it, has a motorcycle, and, indeed, they would be lazy and shiftless if they did not when we consider the trifling cost. Such shiftlessness would be on a par with the 1897 farmer who would not raise his own potatoes. Power, since Niagara has been perfectly harnessed and made to work for man, is as cheap as water; and thus the motorcycle, as well as all machinery, is driven at an insignificant expense. Many years have passed since any one would miss his annual pleasure trip somewhere —to the seacoast, the National Park, to hunting and fishing grounds, or a myriad of other resorts in summer, and to the sunny climes of the South in winter. The motorcycle and the grand boulevards bring these pleasures within the reach of all, and all improve the opportunity. It is indeed a merry world in which we now live.

It was one of these trips by President Mishler's party to the hunting grounds that resulted in his discovering the grave of his wife before spoken of—for such it really proved to be. They had followed up the report of Benjamin Brown, already mentioned, of her supposed death by drowning, at Buffalo, N. Y., just after he adopted Glen. They found the records and coroner's report of the death by drowning of an unknown and supposed insane woman, with an infant child. In the big city, with so many unknown and unmarked graves, it was impossible, after twenty years, to locate the grave in which the woman had been buried, but all the evidence appeared to establish the fact that it was Mrs. Mishler and child that met death at that time; yet it was not.

An immediate and thorough investigation enabled them to learn that when this asylum had been vacated the remaining inmates had been transferred to one of the great hospitals at Chicago, Ill., and many of the old employes went there also. Among them was an aged woman who remembered Mrs. Mishler being received at the hospital, her death soon after, and her child having been given to a family, whose name she could not remember. Fortunately she knew the city they lived in, but in the great shuffle that society had undergone could the family ever be found? This greatly worried Mr. Mishler and Glen. They at once engaged a corps of detectives and sent them to the city designated by the aged lady, to make a quiet but thorough investigation. The fact that more romance was connected with the President, and that his daughter was probably still alive, was kept from the public, for fear of his being imposed upon by pretenders.

In arranging matters to have a thorough search instituted for his daughter, the President and Glen were detained for a couple of days in Chicago. Thousands of people called on Mr. Mishler, and several receptions had to be given the people, at which he stood for hours and shook hands with them. On the last of these occasions, as Glen stood beside his father, he looked down the long line of people awaiting their turn, and caught sight of the face of his old friend, Ethel Davis. He walked quickly to her with extended hand. She was now Mrs. Harry Rich, the wife of Glen's old roommate, who was jealous of him. He had attended their wedding several years before, but had not seen her since. A pretty, chubby little boy toddled about her feet, and by her side was an elderly lady whom she introduced as her aunt. Glen said he would present them to his father, and so they chatted together until those in front of them had greeted the President. He then introduced the ladies to his father.

On seeing the pretty Mrs. Harry Rich he looked surprised. He shook her hand warmly and did what he had never done before to a lady at one of his receptions—he kissed her fervently. He fondled her baby in his arms. After a few more handshakes with those near, the reception was brought to an abrupt close, and Mrs. Rich and her aunt were invited into the President's parlors. He talked in an unusual manner to the ladies, asking all about Mrs. Harry Rich's parents and her early life. He took hold of her hand, raised it to his eyes, and asked what made the scar upon it. This was impertinence indeed, thought she, and she showed as much by her looks,

but he was Glen's father, and the President, so she would answer; and she said:

"Strange to say, I do not know, and neither my father nor my mother could ever satisfactorily explain it to me. It has been there since before I could remember."

Then, stepping across the room, he said, aside, to her aunt: "Was John Davis the own father of Ethel Davis, now Mrs. Rich?"

She hesitated, but replied: "For the first time it comes from my lips, no! She was his adopted daughter. Her mother was an unknown insane woman. Her name was never even known to me, and her identity was forever sealed by the death of Mr. Davis. Only he knew her."

The President stepped quickly across the room to the telephone, called up the aged lady at the hospital, and asked: "Was it Davis, John Davis?"

"Yes, that was the name," came the answer.

He then said, with much emotion, to Ethel's aunt: "She is my daughter. She startled me by her great likeness to my wife. Her history; the scar upon her hand; the old lady at the hospital, all identify her." And passing to the other side of the room, where Glen and Mrs. Rich were talking, with irrepressible excitement he said, taking his daughter by the hand: "Glen, let me introduce to you Mrs. Rich, nee Ethel Mishler, your sister. Yes, Ethel," he continued, with tears of joy streaming down his cheeks, "you are my daughter. John Davis was your foster-father. Aunt Jane Brown, who noted your likeness to Glen, was correct. His love was truly a brother's love, and though it was unknown all

through your school days, your brother was your schoolmate and companion."

The scene that followed is not to be described. A telegram brought Harry Rich to Chicago, and then they all, together, took the cars to the city of his home, where he was a foreman in one of the great Government factories. From there they went to Washington, and for the remaining two years of her father's term Ethel Mishler Rich was mistress of the White House, and her chubby little boy was forever the joy of life to his grandfather.

[THE END.]